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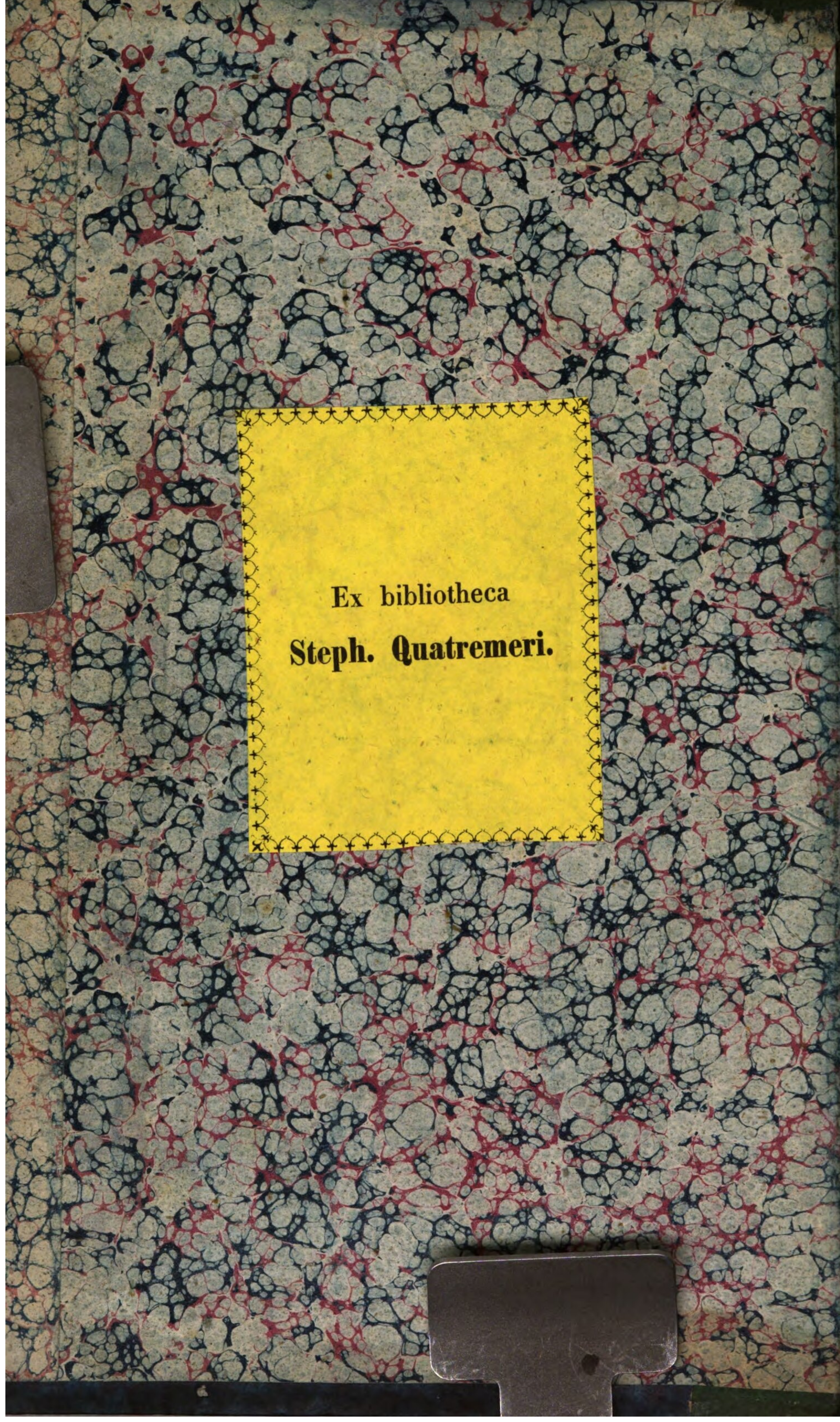
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THE
HISTORY
OF THE
PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY
AMONG THE
HEATHEN.

VOL. II.

SECOND EDITION.

ILLUSTRATED WITH MAPS AND CHARTS.

EDINBURGH:

PUBLISHED BY W. & A. K. LEITCH, 10, N. B. ST.

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The Reformation.

BY
THE REV. WILLIAM BROWN, M. D.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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HISTORY

OF THE

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY

AMONG THE

HEATHEN.

CHAPTER SIXTH.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE UNITED
BRETHREN.

SECTION X.

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE.

IN February 1736, George Schmidt, a man of remarkable zeal and of undaunted courage, was sent to the Cape of Good Hope, with the view of introducing Christianity among the Hottentots. Having fixed on a spot for a settlement near Serjeant's river, he collected a number of them to this place; and in the course of a few years, he had the pleasure of baptizing several of them. As various impediments, however, were thrown in his way, he judged it expedient to return to Europe in 1744, in the hope of obtaining the removal of them, and of procuring some of the Brethren to assist in his labours. He left his small congregation, consisting of forty-seven persons, under the care of a pious

man; but on his arrival in Holland, the East India Company, to his inexpressible grief, refused him permission to return, some persons having foolishly insinuated, that the conversion of the Hottentots would injure the interests of the colony. His little congregation, however, kept together for some time, in earnest expectation of the return of their beloved teacher. They used to meet together, it appears, and read a Dutch Bible he had left among them. Even so late as 1787, some of the Brethren who touched at the Cape in their way from the East Indies, saw a Hottentot woman baptized by Schmidt, who had a Dutch Bible which she received from him, and who expressed an ardent desire for the renewal of the mission. A new application was therefore made to the East India Company for permission to send missionaries to the Cape of Good Hope; and though former petitions of the same kind had uniformly failed, the present, after meeting with much opposition, was at last granted.^a

In July 1792, Hendrick Marsveld, Daniel Schwinn, and John Christian Kuehnel, three of the Brethren, sailed from Holland for the Cape of Good Hope, with the view of renewing the mission in that colony. On their arrival, they met with a very friendly reception from the governor, and many other persons of the first respectability; but by the Dutch boors, a base worthless race of men, they were regarded almost as a species of monsters. Alarmed at the idea of their instructing the Hottentots, some of these miscreants proposed that the Brethren should

^a Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 122, 166.—Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. iii. p. 161.

immediately be put to death; and they, at the same time, endeavoured to prejudice the poor creatures against them, by circulating the most frightful reports concerning them: "They will treat you very kindly at first," said they, "but if you listen to them, more of them will come, and then they will seize on you and send you as slaves to Batavia."—"Only wait a little," said a constable to two Hottentots whom he met on the road, "you will be well thuacked by them. I have heard that they beat their scholars most unmercifully, and have brought a whole chest of bamboos with them for that purpose." It was afterwards reported that the missionaries taught the Hottentots to steal, to murder, and to commit other atrocious crimes.^b

As they were recommended to fix their residence at Bavian's Kloof, about a hundred and twenty miles east of Capetown, the Brethren proceeded to visit that part of the country without delay. It was the very place where George Schmidt had resided, and on their arrival the spot was pointed out to them where his house had stood. A large piece of the wall was still standing; in the garden were several fruit trees, and here and there appeared some ruins of walls, the remains of the Hottentots' cottages. Having heard that a woman was still alive who had been baptized by him, they inquired for her; upon which some went to her hut and led her forward, for she was now so old and feeble, that she could not walk by herself. She acknowledged that she had forgotten all she had learned from him, and, indeed, she appeared as ignorant as the rest; but she

^b Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 165, 271, 276, 291; vol. ii. p. 3.

mentioned that she had still a book in her possession, which she had received from him. It proved to be a Dutch New Testament, and was carefully enclosed in a leather bag, wrapped in two sheep skins. She could formerly read it, but now she was almost blind; another woman, however, who had learned to read from one of Schmidt's converts, read it to her. ^c

Having fixed on this spot for a settlement, and received a grant of it from the Dutch government, the Brethren proceeded to build a house for their accommodation, with the assistance of some of the neighbouring Hottentots, whom they engaged for this purpose. Notwithstanding the keen opposition of the boors, who often attempted to detain them by force, these poor oppressed people collected to this place in considerable numbers, and it was truly astonishing to behold the attention and earnestness with which they listened to the glad tidings of salvation. They looked as if they would drink up the words which flowed from the lips of their teachers; and many of them, when they heard of the love and sufferings of the Redeemer, were so much affected as to burst into tears. Such reverential silence, such solemn devotion, appeared among them, as are rarely to be seen in Christian assemblies. ^d

In the meanwhile, the Brethren had no small difficulties to encounter, chiefly from the opposition of the colonists. As many of the Hottentots left them in order to come and hear the word of God,

^c Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 273, 276, 278, 285.—Latrobe's Journal of a visit to South Africa, p. 60.

^d Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 245, 282, 294, 305, 307.

the farmers were apprehensive they would no longer be able to procure them as servants, or, at least, not on such easy terms as hitherto. Besides, as the Hottentots depended for subsistence chiefly on their cattle, and allowed them to pasture at large in a country where there are few or no enclosures, it must be acknowledged, the animals sometimes wandered into the fields of the neighbouring farmers, an evil which the missionaries, by all their exhortations were unable to prevent. Stimulated by considerations of this kind, a man, of the name of Teunis, who, at first, had been a principal instrument of establishing them at this place, now became their bitterest enemy, and endeavoured by all the means in his power to check their progress. With this view, he represented to government, that the cattle of the Hottentots were so numerous, the country could not support them, and that there was an absolute necessity for driving them back to the places whence they came. The statement was perfectly false; but yet, the commissary was so misled by it, that he empowered their accuser to order the Hottentots to drive back their cattle to their former places of abode. The Brethren were, at the same time, informed that they must receive no Hottentot into the settlement who had been in the service of a colonist, without a certificate that he had fulfilled the period of his service, and was now at liberty, an order which amounted nearly to a prohibition to admit any more Hottentots, as the farmers would rarely give such an attestation. These regulations filled the Hottentots, as well as the missionaries, with inexpressible concern; yet many of them declared, in the strongest terms, that they

would not forsake their teachers, let the consequences be what they would. Happily the triumph of their enemies was of short duration. A gentleman from the Cape, who visited the settlement soon after, informed the government, on his return, that the statement of the farmers was so far from being correct, that at least five hundred head of cattle might be maintained on the ground. In consequence of this information, the commissary revoked the order for the removal of the Hottentots' cattle, and that gentleman purchased the land, chiefly, as he said, with a view to the security of the mission.^c

In June 1795, upwards of a hundred of the boors rose in arms, determined to obtain, by force, a redress of their various grievances, among which the instruction of the Hottentots was not forgotten. For several weeks reports of the most frightful nature daily reached the missionaries, and kept them in a state of constant alarm. One day, it was said that a troop of the insurgents was to come to the settlement, to take them prisoners, and send them to Batavia; another day, it was reported that many of the farmers who would not join the rebels, had fled for safety to the Cape, as the latter threatened to put to death all who refused to assist them. One day, it was said that the enemy designed first to come and burn Bavian's Kloof, and then to march to the Cape; and on the following day, report succeeded report that they were on their way to the settlement, and were already fast approaching. Alarmed by this rumour, the Christian Hottentots

^c Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. iii. p. 205.—Period. Accounts, vol. ii. 5, 19.

flocked together, crying, "O that they would but spare our teachers!" and they declared, at the same time, that if the Brethren fled, they would all fly with them, and if they resolved to stay, they also would remain and die with them. But as the missionaries perceived that many of them were greatly terrified, and stopped merely for their sakes, they told them not to remain on their account, but that each should act as he judged best himself. Numbers of them, particularly the women and children, now fled to the mountains, and hid themselves among the rocks and bushes. Before leaving the settlement, they came to take farewell of their teachers. It was truly an affecting scene. The poor creatures, overwhelmed with grief, burst into cries and tears, and at last the missionaries themselves were so overcome, that they could scarcely bear to notice them any longer.^f

A troop of the nationals, as the insurgents styled themselves, at length arrived in the neighbourhood of Bavian's Kloof, and sent notice to the Brethren, that they were assembled at such a house, and that, if they wished to know their determination concerning them, they might come thither. Anxious to bring matters to an accommodation, or at least to learn with certainty the views of their enemies, one of the Brethren ventured to go to the place appointed, and on his arrival he found that some of the articles of their Memorial to government were to the following effect:

"That they would allow no Moravians to live in the country and instruct the Hottentots; for as

^f Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 25.

there were many Christians in the colony who received no education, it was not proper that the Hottentots should be made wiser than they, but that they should remain in the same state as before.

“That the Hottentots should live among the farmers, and not collect together at Bavian’s Kloof.

“That it was never meant the Moravians should be employed among the Hottentots, but among the Boschemen.” *

Such were some of the resolutions which these fierce republicans had passed in the name of liberty and equality! A troop of them were actually on their march to Bavian’s Kloof, to destroy the school, but being met on the road by a deputy from government, with terms of accommodation, they returned to consult with their comrades, threatening, however, soon to renew the visit. A few days after, the Brethren observed two horsemen riding towards their house, but their apprehensions were soon dispelled, as they discovered them to be persons of their acquaintance. They were the messengers, however, of evil tidings. After remaining silent for sometime, one of them informed the missionaries that they brought an order to them from the commandant Pissani, to quit the place within three days, and to go either to Capetown, or to some other part of the country inhabited by Dutch citizens, on pain of being severely punished in case of disobedience. The Brethren were thunderstruck at

* A savage people of the Hottentot race who inhabit the colony, and from the circumstance of their lurking among the bushes, whence they shoot travellers with their poisoned arrows, are called Boschemen, or Bushmen.

this intelligence, and asked what they had done to merit such treatment. To this the other replied, he knew nothing of the matter, but a party of eight men had arrived at his house, and commanded him to repair to them with that order, and that Pissani himself was marching behind the mountains, to the Cape, at the head of eight hundred men. These painful tidings flew like lightning among the Hottentots who still remained in the settlement. Old and young flocked to the Brethren's house, lamenting their departure with a thousand tears. Resistance, however, was vain, and even delay might be dangerous.

Having employed the following day in loading two waggons with their goods, the missionaries prepared to follow, in a cart drawn by ten oxen, into which they put such articles as might be necessary on the journey. Early next morning, all the Hottentots assembled before their house, and it was with difficulty they were persuaded to stay at home, for many of them positively declared they would go and die with their teachers. Having committed their house and garden to the care of some of the baptized, the Brethren left their beloved congregation with a sorrowful heart, yet not without a secret hope of soon returning to them. In this expectation they were not disappointed. On their arrival at Capetown, they waited on the governor, and on informing him of what had happened, he expressed his astonishment at the presumption and arrogance of Pissani, but added, they had acted wisely in obeying his orders, for as the insurgents were exceedingly enraged, they might have proceeded to extremities, in case of resistance.

As, however, a British force had, in the meanwhile, arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, the principal party of the insurgents agreed to suspend their demands for the present, and to assist in repelling the common enemy. By the governor's permission, therefore, the missionaries returned immediately to Bavian's Kloof, where they were received by the poor forlorn Hottentots with gratitude and joy. The colony, shortly after, surrendered to the British, in whom the Brethren found powerful friends and protectors.^g

In February 1796, the Brethren experienced a new instance of the watchful care of Providence over them. Some of the neighbouring farmers had collected together upwards of a hundred armed men, for the purpose of carrying their late barbarous resolution into execution, by one bold decisive blow. Their rendezvous was in the vicinity, at the house of Baas Teunis, their old and artful enemy. They were already assembled at this place, when a message was delivered to them from the English general, who had received notice of their intention, that if any outrage was committed on the missionaries, the perpetrators of it should assuredly be brought to justice, and punished in the severest manner. Finding their design discovered, and the government determined to punish them, the conspirators quitted their leader and dispersed to their homes, without molesting the missionaries.^h

By degrees, the hostility of the farmers to the missionaries began to subside, not, indeed, from

^g Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 30, 33, 42, 44, 47.

^h Ibid. vol. ii. p. 82.

any satisfaction which they took in the improvement of the Hottentots, but merely from discovering that it might be turned to their own advantage. When the Brethren were erecting a smith's shop in the settlement, some of the neighbouring boors were not only highly displeased, but agreed never to buy a single article from them, nor to give them any of their work; yet scarcely was the building completed, when several of these very persons came for knives and other articles; and some when they had purchased them at a moderate price, carried them to Capetown and other places, and sold them for more than double the sum. Similar to this was their conduct with regard to provisions. Having failed in destroying the settlement by open violence, they threatened that they would starve the missionaries and their people out of the country. Accordingly, when the Brethren were building a mill, and required a considerable supply of corn, salt, wine, and other articles, on account of the number of hands they employed, the farmers carried their threats into execution for some time, and distressed them not a little for want of provisions. But at length these very persons brought them as large supplies as they needed; and even one of those who had conspired to destroy the place, sent a waggon with corn to the settlement, at a season when it brought the highest price, and sold it cheaper than they expected to have found it in the country. Most of them, indeed, were convinced, by experience, that the gospel was beneficial to the temporal as well as to the spiritual interests of the colony, and now preferred employing Christian rather than Pagan Hottentots in their service.

This was so much the case, that it became a common practice with the Hottentots to represent themselves as inhabitants of Bavian's Kloof, though, perhaps, they had never seen the place; and as they often disgraced themselves by their ill conduct, the Brethren, in order to prevent such impositions, found it necessary to give certificates to their people, when they went to labour with the farmers.ⁱ

The settlement of the Brethren at Bavian's Kloof was now an object of general curiosity throughout the country, particularly to the inhabitants of Cape-town, many of whom came thither as to a place of fashionable resort, and were no less pleased than astonished to witness the vast improvement which had been effected on the character and habits of the Hottentots, whom they had been accustomed to consider as among the most degraded of the human race.^k Among other visitors was Mr. Barrow, who has given us the following interesting account of the settlement.

“ Proceeding up the valley through which the Endless River meanders, we halted late in the evening at a place called Bavian's Kloof, where there is a small establishment of Moravian missionaries. Early next morning, I was awakened by some of the finest voices I had ever heard, and on looking out, saw a group of female Hottentots sitting on the ground. It was Sunday, and they had assembled thus early to chaunt the morning hymn. They were all neatly dressed in printed cotton

ⁱ Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 183, 188, 244; vol. iv. p. 33.

^k Ibid. vol. ii. p. 184.

gowns. A sight so very different from what we had hitherto been in the habit of observing with regard to this unhappy class of beings, could not fail of proving grateful, and at the same time it excited a degree of curiosity as to the nature of the establishment. The good fathers, who were three in number, were well disposed to satisfy every question put to them. They were men of the middle age, plain and decent in their dress, cleanly in their persons, of modest manners, meek and humble in their deportment, but intelligent and lively in conversation, zealous in the cause of their mission, yet free from bigotry or enthusiasm. Every thing in the place partook of that neatness and simplicity, which were the strongest features in the outline of their character. The church they had constructed was a plain neat building; their mill for grinding corn, was superior to any in the colony; their garden was in high order, and produced abundance of vegetables for the use of the table. Almost every thing that had been done was by the labour of their own hands. Agreeably to the rules of the society of which they were members, each of them had learned some useful profession. One was skilled in every branch of smith's work, the second was a shoemaker, and the third a tailor.

“These missionaries have succeeded in bringing together into one society, upwards of six hundred Hottentots, and their numbers are daily increasing. These live in small huts dispersed over the valley, to each of which was attached a piece of ground for raising vegetables, and their houses and gardens were very neat and comfortable; numbers of the poor in England not so good, and few better.

Those Hottentots who chose to learn the respective trades of the missionaries, were paid for their labour as soon as they could earn wages. Some hired themselves out by the week, month, or year to the neighbouring peasantry; others made mats and brooms for sale; some bred poultry, and others found means to subsist by their cattle, sheep, and horses. Many of the women and children of soldiers belonging to the Hottentot corps, reside at Bavian's Kloof, where they are much more likely to acquire industrious habits than by remaining in the camp.

“On Sundays they all regularly attend the performance of divine service, and it is astonishing how ambitious they are to appear at church neat and clean. Of about three hundred that composed the congregation, about half were dressed in coarse printed cottons, and the other half in the ancient sheep skin dresses; and it appeared on inquiry, that the former were the first who had been brought within the pale of the church; a proof that their external circumstances at least had suffered nothing from their change of life. Persuasion and example had convinced them, that cleanliness in their persons, not only added much to the comfort of life, but was one of the greatest preservatives of health, and that the little trifle of money they had to spare, was much better applied in procuring decent covering for the body, than in the purchase of spirits and tobacco, articles so far from being necessities, that they might justly be considered as the most pernicious evils.

“The deportment of the Hottentot congregation during divine service was truly devout. The dis-

course delivered by one of the fathers was short, but full of good sense, pathetic, and well suited to the occasion. Tears flowed abundantly from the eyes of those to whom it was particularly addressed. The females sung in a style that was plaintive and affecting, and their voices were in general sweet and harmonious.”¹ Mr. Barrow mentions various other circumstances relative to the Brethren’s settlement at Bavian’s Kloof; but as in some instances he has already been anticipated, and as in others he is not perfectly correct, we think it unnecessary to notice them.

In 1800, the Brethren’s settlement was visited by a fever of a bilious nature, which generally makes its appearance in the colony every five or six years, spreads over the whole country, and commits terrible havock both among the Hottentots and the White people. In the present instance scarcely a house was free of it; and when it once enters a family, not an individual escapes. With the view of attending to the poor creatures as carefully as possible, the Brethren agreed that each of them should take his week in visiting the sick in certain divisions. By this arrangement, every missionary and his wife had daily fifty or sixty patients to see, and to afford them what assistance was in their power, both temporal and spiritual. In this work, they had to make a circuit of four or five miles; and as three, four, or even more persons, often lay ill in the same house, it was not only a very laborious, but a dangerous service. When they crept into the Hottentots’ kraals, and beheld the poor creatures lying

¹ Barrow’s Travels in Southern Africa, vol. i. p. 351.

sick on a sheep's skin spread on the bare ground, without medical aid, and often without a morsel to eat, while, perhaps, a number of naked helpless children lay around them, crying for hunger, their hearts were ready to sink in despondency and sorrow at the melancholy scene: but when they spoke to them of the love of Christ, when they saw with what eagerness they listened to the news of salvation, when they beheld them weep for joy in extolling the loving-kindness of God in sending the gospel to them, their souls were elevated with gratitude and praise. The Brethren exerted themselves to the utmost of their power to procure them a little food and medicine; but as the number of objects was so great, it was not possible for them to supply them all. After some months, during which they often buried six, ten, and even twelve corpses a-week, the disease greatly abated, and at length disappeared from the country. ^m

Though the missionaries and their people were no longer in danger of being murdered by the farmers, yet they were not altogether unmolested by them. About this time, one or two of these miscreants seized on a tract of excellent pasture land belonging to the Hottentots, which they had improved and fertilized with great labour. This cruel encroachment the Brethren were determined to resist; but, notwithstanding the justice of their cause, it occasioned them a good deal of trouble. Once, when they were at Capetown on this errand, Mr. Rhynefeld, the fiscal or justice of the peace, bore the

^m Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 23, 25, 26.—Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. iii. p. 264.

following honourable testimony to the utility of their labours: "The mission at Bavian's Kloof," he said, "had now existed for ten years, and though about a thousand Hottentots were collected in that place, yet they were so distinguished by their sober and orderly behaviour, that he never received any complaints from that quarter. They did not, in fact, need a fiscal, though in other places where three hundred people lived together, a justice of the peace had enough to do. In the late season of famine, sickness, and mortality, no relief had been granted to the Hottentots of Bavian's Kloof: the missionaries alone had borne the burden. The more, therefore, they deserved of humanity, the more unjust were the encroachments made upon them." The British government at the Cape, in the decision which it passed on the subject, endeavoured to combine justice to the Hottentots with lenity to the farmers; reinstating the former in most of their lawful possessions, but yet leaving a part in the hands of the latter, as it could not be restored without a material loss to them; and as an indemnification for this, the government granted the Hottentots a further tract of land, and even appropriated a sum of money to assist them in draining and cultivating it. This new land being situated in a valley, was subject to inundations; but the Brethren hoped to remedy this inconvenience, by cutting two broad and deep ditches, one of them nearly three miles in length. In this expectation, however, they were disappointed; for, after cutting a canal to carry off the torrents which pour down from the neighbouring mountains, they

found it was impossible to secure the ground from inundations.ⁿ

In March 1808, the Brethren began a second settlement at a place called Gruenekloof, about forty miles from Capetown, on the road to Saldanha Bay. Here, the Earl of Caledon, the governor of the Cape, not only offered the ground for that purpose; but promised them every assistance in the formation of such an establishment. To this place a number of the Hottentots collected for instruction, and, in a short time, some of them appeared to become partakers of divine grace, and were admitted by baptism into the bosom of the church.^o

Scarcely, however, had the Brethren settled in this part of the country, when a circumstance occurred which threatened to interrupt their peaceful labours. One night the slaves in a neighbouring district rose with a determination to burn Capetown, to murder all the White men, and to reduce the women to slavery. They actually seized and bound several of their masters, carried off waggons, horses, arms, and committed various other depredations. One afternoon, a man came to Gruenekloof, pretending that he was an English naval officer, and that he had narrowly escaped from the rebel slaves. He shewed a certificate to that effect, containing a request to all persons to furnish him with horses to prosecute his journey to Cape Town. This, however, was a mere forgery; and it turned out that he was one of the chiefs of the rebels: but happily he was overtaken on the road to the

ⁿ Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 98, 278, 287; vol. iv. p. 328.

^o Ibid. vol. iv. p. 361, 389, 392, 396, 437; vol. v. p. 487.

Cape, and arrested as an impostor. Lord Caledon, on the discovery of the plot, sent dragoons through the country in every direction. Some of the colonists in the neighbourhood of Gruenekloof fled thither for safety; and the Brethren did every thing in their power to accommodate them and their slaves. They also distributed arms as directed by government, among their own Hottentots, and kept a strict watch during the night. Some hundreds of the rebels were soon taken by the dragoons, and thus their evil designs were frustrated.^p

In August 1811, the missionaries at this place were involved in deep distress, by an accident which, though of a more private, was of a most affecting nature. As the neighbourhood had of late been much infested by wolves, which ventured even into their yard, and committed terrible havock among their cattle, a day was appointed to hunt and destroy them, agreeably to the usual practice of the country. The Brethren Bonatz and Schmitt, with about thirty Hottentots, accordingly set out in the morning, armed with loaded guns. When about an hour's ride from the settlement, they discovered and wounded a wolf; but the animal made its escape among the bushes. They pursued it for some time, but not being able to detect its hiding place, the two missionaries resolved to return home. They had already left the Hottentots a short distance, when the latter cried, they had discovered the wolf in a thicket near at hand. Schmitt immediately rode back to their assistance, but Bonatz remained behind, as he had not his gun with him. When

^p Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 441.—Holmes' Sketches, p. 420.

they were in the midst of the thicket, the dog started the animal. Those within did not see what it was; but those without exclaimed it was a tyger, and ran off, leaving the missionary and one of the Hottentots in the middle of the bushes, and perfectly at a loss by what side to escape, lest they should come directly upon it. They therefore proceeded slowly with their guns pointed, designing to shoot the animal the moment it made its appearance. On a sudden the tyger sprung upon the Hottentot, pulled him down, and began to bite his face. The distance of the place from whence the animal made his spring, to that on which the Hottentot stood, was full twenty feet, and over bushes from six to eight feet high, so, that had it not been for the horror of the scene, it would have been very amusing to behold the enraged animal, flying like a bird through the air, with open jaw and lashing tail, and screaming with the greatest violence. Schmitt, who was close at hand, prepared to shoot the tyger; but the motions of the Hottentot, and of the animal in rolling about, and struggling together, were so rapid, that he was afraid to fire, lest he should injure him whom he wished to save. Immediately, however, the tyger let go the Hottentot and made a spring at the missionary. His gun being of no use at such close quarters, he threw it down, and in order to shield his face, held up his arm, which the animal instantly seized, close to the elbow, with his jaws. Schmitt, however, was still able, with the same hand, to lay hold of one of the tyger's fore feet; while, with the other paw, the animal continued striking his breast, and tearing his clothes. Happily both fell in the struggle, in such a position, that the mis-

sionary's knee rested on the pit of the tyger's stomach. He, at the same time, grasped the animal's throat with his right hand, and kept him down with all his might. His face now lay directly over the tyger, whose open mouth, from the pressure of the windpipe, sent forth the most hideous, hoarse, convulsive groans, while his starting eyes seemed like live coals, to flash with fire. As his strength was fast failing, Schmitt called to his companions to come to his assistance; while, on the other hand, the rage and agony of the tyger, supplied it with extraordinary energy. On hearing his cries, the Hottentots ran to his assistance, and one of them snatching up the loaded gun which lay on the ground, shot the tyger through the heart. His death was instantaneous. Had the spark of life not been completely extinguished, his dying struggles might have proved fatal to some of his assailants. About three o'clock in the afternoon, they arrived at Gruenekloof with the poor missionary, who, though severely wounded, was still alive. As the case, however, was of an extraordinary nature, his friends were much at a loss how to treat him; and before it was possible to obtain medical advice from the Cape, the inflammation spread to an alarming extent. Every hour, indeed, he grew worse. He had seven or eight wounds from the elbow to the wrist; in some places they penetrated to the bone; and as the teeth and claws of a tyger are shaped like those of a cat, they had of course lacerated the parts. His brethren, after several days, procured a medical man from the Cape, who bled him very freely, and kindly promised not to leave him until he was out of danger. By degrees, the inflammation

abated; symptoms of a favourable nature began to appear; and to the astonishment of all his friends, Schmitt at length recovered, though he did not enjoy the same degree of health as before.

The Hottentot, though severely wounded, did not suffer so much bodily pain as the missionary. It was the third instance in which he had encountered a tyger, and this time he would in all probability have lost his life, had not Schmitt risked his own to save him. After the tyger had thrown the Hottentot down, the missionary might easily have made his escape, as well as his companions, but he could not bear to see the poor man lose his life, without endeavouring at least to rescue him.

In February 1818, Schmitt and two others of the Brethren, proceeded from Gruenekloof for the Witte Revier, a brook which falls into the Sunday River near the borders of Caffraria, where the British government had assigned them a piece of land for a third settlement. A few Hottentots from the other stations accompanied them to this place, and others soon joined them from the neighbouring country. They now proceeded with indefatigable industry in their work, clearing the ground and preparing materials for the erection of a house, church, and other buildings. The settlement was advancing with singular rapidity, when the Caffres made a terrible irruption into the colony, plundering and murdering the inhabitants wherever they came. Their ravages soon extended to this place, particularly as the neighbouring Zuurberg, with its

^r Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 118, 250.—Latrobe's Journal, p. 306.

glens and fastnesses, had always afforded them shelter in their predatory excursions into the colony. One evening about two hundred of them, rushed from the woods and carried off two hundred and thirty-six head of cattle from the missionary settlement; but though it was believed that two of the Caffres were killed, and five wounded, the Brethren and their people escaped unhurt. Their situation, however, soon became more perilous than ever, as parties of the enemy were seen in their neighbourhood, and it was supposed they would never rest until they had avenged the blood of their countrymen; but dangerous as was their situation, it was impossible for them to leave the place for the present, as the Sunday River was impassable. Two months afterwards, a great body of the enemy rushed upon the Hottentots, who were watching the remainder of the cattle. Two of the men fled, but the other nine were instantly murdered, their arms taken, and the whole herd driven away. Afraid to remain any longer at the Witte Revier, the missionaries and their people abandoned the settlement, and retired to Uitenhagen, under an escort, which Colonel Cuyler, the Landrost, had sent to conduct them thither, and who, during their stay at that place, treated them with extraordinary kindness. On the restoration of peace, however, the Brethren returned with the Hottentots to Witte Revier, and established themselves in that part of the country. ^s

Gnadenthal, or as it was formerly called Bavian's

^s Hallbeck's Narrative of a Visit to the Missionary Settlement of the Brethren on the Witte Revier, p. v. 5, 9.—Period. Accounts, vol. vii. p. xi. 77, 91, 111, 114, 133, 138, 178, 208.

Kloof, the principal settlement of the Brethren in South Africa, lies in a valley surrounded by high mountains, watered by the river Sonderend, and several smaller streams. By repeated grants from government, the land now belonging to the mission amounts to about four thousand acres. When the Brethren first settled at this place, it was a perfect wilderness, yet such have been the improvements they have made upon it, that it is now a kind of Paradise in the midst of a wild uncultivated country. On each side of the valley the cottages of the Hottentots stand in rows: others are irregularly distributed between them, which diminishes the beauty of the settlement, but gives it a more romantic appearance. Some of the Hottentots' houses, consist of four apartments, which are whitewashed, and look remarkably neat and clean; others are still very mean and dirty. To every house is attached a garden, surrounded with bright green quince hedges, and full of peach, apple, and other fruit trees, the bloom of which perfumes the air with its delicious fragrance. Their growth is so rapid and promising, that in the cultivation of his garden, many a Hottentot has lost his national character of idleness, and acquired a relish for an active industrious life. Besides raising corn in different parts of the valley, the Brethren planted the slopes and glens, with poplars, oaks, and other kinds of trees, and enclosed a vineyard, stocked with two thousand vines. The settlement is about a mile in length, and a quarter of a mile in breadth: the gardens are so numerous and so beautiful, that the whole looks like a city in the midst of a wood.

^c Campbell's Travels in South Africa, p. 25, 27.—Latrobe's

Gruenekloof, though not to be compared with Gnadenthal, has a fine appearance, resembling a fruitful field in the midst of a desert. The cottages are of different dimensions, materials, and workmanship. Near the premises of the missionaries are two rows of Hottentots' houses, some of them built of stone or unburnt bricks, with a garden adjoining to each. Others of the houses are still very mean. Even the settlement on the Witte Revier, which they called Enon, has through the singular industry of the Brethren, begun already to assume a very beautiful appearance.^u

In 1821, the number of Hottentots in the three settlements of the Brethren in South Africa, was as follows :

Begun.	Settlements.	Inhabitants.	Baptized.	Communicants.	Baptized from the commencement of the Mission to 1820.		
					Adults.	Children.	Total.
1792	Gnadenthal.....	1,420	1,204	537	1,115	885	2,000
1808	Gruenekloof,	420	364	—	—	—	—
1818	Enon,.....	203	99	20	42	33	75

In the schools, there were upwards of three hundred children, about one half of whom were reading the Bible.^v

Of the Hottentots who came to live with the Brethren, numbers afterwards left them: many even of the baptized, were seduced into sin, particularly drunkenness, to which the colonists delight to tempt them; and though some of these were brought to

Journal, p. 59, 67.—Holmes' Sketches, p. 434.—Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 137; vol. vii. p. 72.

^u Latrobe's Journal, p. 41, 45, 100.—Holmes' Sketches, p. 434.—Period. Accounts, vol. viii. p. 202.

^v Period. Accounts, vol. vii. p. 368; vol. viii. p. 130, 145, 155, 241, 257.

a sense of their guilt, and restored to the fellowship of the church, yet others were never recovered, but were plunged at once into temporal and spiritual ruin. Even among those, who, on the whole, remained faithful to their Christian profession, many irregularities occurred; but yet, it was pleasing to observe the spirit which in general prevailed among them; their eagerness for instruction, their ingenuousness in the confession of sin, their humiliation on account of it, their love to the Saviour, and their confidence in his atonement, as the only ground of their hope of pardon and everlasting felicity. It was peculiarly delightful to behold them at the communion. The devout attention, the humble joy, the peace of mind, the expressions of love, the tears of gratitude, the contrition of heart which they manifested while contemplating the sufferings and death of the Redeemer, produced altogether a scene which baffles description. The reflections of the converts on this and other occasions, often afforded the missionaries the highest satisfaction. "This morning when I rose," said one of the communicants, "I saw the morning star, and could not help looking at it, and admiring its brightness. But what made me truly rejoice in spirit, was this, that I could think of Jesus, and sing, Thou art my light, my leading star, and hast risen upon me with healing, and O that he may always shine bright within my soul." "My spiritual life," said one of the baptized, when the year was drawing near a close, "My spiritual life was sometime ago as weak as the breath of a dying man which can scarcely move a feather." "Yes," replied another of the converts, "Yes,

brother, that is true, we must often feel ourselves so; and when at the close of the year, we recollect the love, and mercy, and blessing which our Saviour has manifested toward us during the past time, we do not know where to begin nor where to end in expressing our thanks and praise." "My brother," said another of the congregation to one of the baptized, who had informed him how much he was incensed against a particular person, "My brother, do not suffer yourself to be led too far astray from our Saviour by the wickedness of your heart. You cannot lengthen the thread of your life. This very evening, perhaps, he may summon you or me into eternity. Ah! how should we appear before him, if we should be taken off in a state of enmity against our neighbour, and without having time left to be reconciled unto him. O my brother, may our Saviour preserve you and me from such a misfortune. It is certainly the greatest of all evils, and what would then avail us, those mercies with which we have been favoured here on earth. They would only make our torment hereafter the more insupportable. No, brother, this is not the will of God concerning us. He will have us to be saved, and to rejoice in him; but we cannot do this, if we live in enmity together." The Hottentots have generally been considered in an intellectual point of view, as holding the lowest place in the scale of humanity; but this appears to be a mistake. In the opinion of Mr. Latrobe, they, in general, display more intellect, and possess a better judgment than most Europeans, equally destitute of the means of mental culture.^w

^w Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 276; vol. iv. p. 407; vol. v. p. 223; vol. vi. p. 29.—Latrobe's Journal, p. 280.

It must, however, be remarked, that the Brethren learned by sad experience, not to place implicit confidence in the professions of the Hottentots. Many of them possessed a natural flow of language, and though to hear them speak was very pleasing, yet sometimes, it was nothing more than empty words.^x This is an observation which may be extended to Pagan nations in general, and claims particular attention from the Christian missionary. There is much of artifice in the character of all savage and uncivilized tribes: they have penetration enough to see what pleases their instructors, and as they are under little or no restraint from moral or religious principles, they will not hesitate, in order to gain a very paltry object, to make those professions which they think will be most agreeable to them. To a faithful missionary, no sound can be so enchanting as the language of sorrow for sin, or of love to the Redeemer from the lips of a poor heathen; but let him not catch too eagerly at such expressions; let him not report them too hastily to the world; lest it appear in the issue, he was grasping the wind, and seizing a shadow. To no man is discrimination of character more necessary, than to the Christian missionary, and even, after all his care, he will often be deceived.

^x Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 393.—Latrobe's Journal, p. 284.

SECTION XI.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

WE have now taken a view of the principal missionary establishments of the United Brethren among the Heathen. Several of these, indeed, they have been obliged to relinquish, as well as some others which they undertook at different periods; but yet their missions are still numerous, and many of them are flourishing beyond their most sanguine expectations. In January 1821, the Moravians had no fewer than thirty-two settlements among the Heathen, in which were employed a hundred and sixty-two missionaries, including the wives of the Brethren, who labour among their own sex. The whole number of converts under their care, amounted to about twenty-eight thousand;^a besides whom, there were some thousands of the Heathen who enjoyed the benefit of their instructions, though they were not as yet members of their congregations. To exhibit a general view of the Brethren's missions, we shall subjoin a Table, containing a list of their settlements, and of the number of converts, at the latest period we have been able to ascertain them.

^aPeriod. Accounts, vol. iii. p. iii; vol. viii. p. i.

Begun.	Countries.	Settlements.	Baptized.*	Communicants.
	WEST INDIES.			
1732	ST. THOMAS	New Herrnhuth,	1,009	430
		Niesky,	1,276	758
1733	ST. CROIX .	Friedenstal, . .	5,161	1,711
		Friedensberg, .	2,982	897
		Friedensfield, .	300	—
1754	ST. JAN . . .	Bethany,	455	201
		Emmaus,	1,006	476
1754	JAMAICA . .	Carmel,	140	—
		New Eden, . . .	463	—
		Irwin,	—	—
1756	ANTIGUA . .	St. John's, . . .	4,470	—
		Gracehill, . . .	1,954	—
		Gracebay,	1,139	—
		Newfield,	106	—
1765	BARBADOES	Sharon,	214	68
1777	ST. KITTS .	Basseterre, . . .	2,774	612
		Bethesda,	—	—
1733	GREENLAND .	New Herrnhuth,	362	168
		Lichtenfels, . . .	331	—
		Lichtenau,	588	—
1734	N. AMERICA :	New Fairfield, . .	120	—
		Goshen,	20	—
		Spring Place, . .	14	—
1738	S. AMERICA . .	Paramaribo, . . .	969	722
1765	TARTARY . . .	Sarepta,	—	—
1771	LABRADOR . .	Nain,	172	—
		Okkak,	160	78
		Hopedale,	150	56
1792	SOUTH AFRICA.	Gnadenthal, . . .	1,204	537
		Gruenekloof, . .	364	—
		Enon,	99	20

In propagating the gospel among the Heathen, the Brethren endeavour to imitate the example of the Apostle Paul, who “determined not to know any thing among them save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.” Experience has taught them, that little is effected by beginning with the principles of natural

* Under the Baptized are included, in various instances, the candidates for baptism.

religion, as the existence of God, the perfections of his nature, or the duties of morality, in order to prepare them for receiving the gospel. After many years' trial, in different countries, and under every variety of circumstances, they found that the simple testimony of the sufferings and death of Christ, delivered by a missionary possessed of an experimental sense of his love, was the most certain and most effectual method of converting the Heathen. It is now, therefore, a rule with them, to enter into no discussions concerning the existence or attributes of God, the doctrine of the Trinity, and other similar truths, until the savages appear to believe in Christ, and to feel the transforming influence of the gospel on their hearts and lives.^b It is proper, however, to remark, that though the Brethren make the death of Christ the grand subject of their preaching among the Heathen, they by no means confine their instructions to this particular point. There is no part of divine truth, whether of a doctrinal or practical nature, but what they endeavour, by degrees, to instil into the minds of the converts.

The INTERNAL regulations of the Brethren's settlements among the Heathen, are the same in every country and in all situations. Besides preaching the gospel to them in public, the missionaries are diligent in visiting and conversing with them in private. When any are impressed with a sense of their sinful condition, and of their need of a Saviour, particular attention is paid to them, and on enrolling their names, they are called *New People*.

^b Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 7; vol. vii. p. xxvii.

If they persevere in their concern about their souls, and in their desire to be received into the church, they are then considered as *Candidates for baptism*; and after further instruction, and a suitable period of probation, they are *Baptized*. If they still maintain an exemplary walk and conversation, and desire to be admitted to the Lord's Supper, they are first permitted to be once present as spectators; they are then considered as *Candidates for the communion*, and after some time, they are admitted as *Communicants*. Each of these classes have separate meetings, in which they are instructed in "all things pertaining to life and godliness." Separate meetings are also held with other divisions of the congregation, as the children, the single men, the single women, the married people, the widowers and widows, in which the admonitions and precepts given in the Holy Scriptures to each particular class are inculcated upon them. Besides, all the baptized and all the communicants come at stated seasons to converse privately with the missionaries; the men with one of the Brethren, the women with one of the Sisters. By this means, the missionaries obtain a more perfect knowledge of the congregation, and have an opportunity of administering advice or reproof to each individual, suited to his particular circumstances.

As the Brethren consider it of great importance to know the state of every individual belonging to their congregations, it would be impossible for the missionaries to perform their duty in a manner satisfactory to themselves, unless among the converts there were found some who were qualified to act as *Assistants*. These are chosen from among both

sexes, and consist of persons whose good understanding, and whose exemplary behaviour, have rendered them respected by the other members of the congregation. They have each a particular district assigned them, in which they visit the people from house to house, attend the sick, the aged, and infirm; preserve order, endeavour to remove dissensions, and promote harmony among those under their care. The assistants meet the missionaries in conference, at stated periods, at least once a month, and make reports concerning the state of the congregation. By this means, the Brethren learn whether their people walk in conformity to the gospel, where their assistance is most needed, and how it may be most usefully applied. In some missions, the assistants are also occasionally employed to address the congregation at their meetings on a week day; and it is not unworthy of notice, that God has often blessed, in a remarkable manner, their simple yet affectionate testimony. Hitherto, however, the Brethren have not ordained any of the converts to the work of the ministry. Other persons, of exemplary behaviour, are employed as *Servants* in the chapel, and meet also in conference, to consult on subjects connected with the external order of the congregation. Besides, at stated times, a *Council* is held, consisting of a number of the most respectable inhabitants of the place, chosen by the congregation, in which every thing that concerns the welfare of the settlement is taken into consideration. It is also proper to observe, that in each settlement one of the Brethren is appointed the *Superintendent* of the mission; but he never acts without consulting his fellow labourers,

and for this purpose he holds a conference with them once or twice a week. ^c

With regard to the EXTERNAL regulations, it is impossible to make them precisely the same in all situations, owing to the very different circumstances in which the converts are placed. Among free Heathen, regulations similar to those of the Brethren's settlements in Europe are more easily introduced; among slaves, this, for obvious reasons, is impracticable. But yet, in every situation, whatever tends to promote Christian piety and good order, is carefully inculcated; and the discipline of the church is strictly administered. Any member, whether a freeman or a slave, who acts contrary to the moral precepts of the Bible, is either excluded from the Lord's supper, or from the meetings of the baptized, or even, in extreme cases, from all fellowship with the congregation; nor is he readmitted, until he gives satisfactory proofs of repentance. ^d

In all the Brethren's settlements among the Heathen, the congregations meet daily, either in the morning or evening, for social worship; and on the Sabbath, the missionaries are employed from the morning dawn until the evening, in preaching, meeting the different divisions of their flock, conversing with their own people, or with heathen visitors, under concern for their souls. Even during the week, they are scarcely less employed in the duties of their office, as the daily meetings, visiting

^c Period. Accounts, vol. vii. p. xvii, xix.—Holmes' Sketches, p. 467.

^d Period. Accounts, vol. vii, p. xxi.

the sick, and such as cannot attend on the Lord's day, occupy a great portion of their time.

In all the Brethren's settlements among free Heathen, schools are established, as in Greenland, Labrador, North America, and at the Cape of Good Hope. In the West Indies, this is not generally practicable, as the children are not under the immediate control of their parents; but yet a Sabbath school was lately established in Antigua, by permission of some of the planters.

With the view of improving the converts, the Brethren have introduced the use of letters among them, and have provided them with books in their own languages, though most of them were never written before. They have printed Spelling-books, and a Catechism, or Summary of Christian Doctrine, in the Greenland, Esquimaux, Delaware, Arawack, and Creole languages; Hymn-books in the Greenland, Esquimaux, Delaware, and Creole; a Harmony of the Four Gospels, in use in the Brethren's church, in the Greenland, Esquimaux, and Creole; to which, it is expected, will soon be added the whole of the New Testament in Greenland and Esquimaux. Besides these, various parts of the Holy Scriptures were translated by the Brethren into different Heathen languages, and are in constant use in their congregations, though as yet only in manuscript.^c

The general synods of the Brethren's church, which consist of representatives from all the congregations, appoint a select number of bishops and

^c Period. Accounts, vol. vii. p. xxi, 145.—Holmes' Sketches, p. 296.

elders to superintend the affairs of the whole church, till the next general synod, which, in times of peace, usually meets every seven or eight years. The Elders' Conference of the Unity, as they are called, is divided into four departments, one of which has the special care of the missionary establishments among the Heathen. This committee, however, simply takes the affairs of the missions under consideration, and brings forward proposals concerning them: it neither forms resolutions, nor carries any measure into effect, until they are laid before the whole Elders' Conference of the Unity, and receive its concurrence. The missionaries in every quarter of the world keep up a regular correspondence with the committee, and transmit to it their journals. Of these, a secretary is appointed to make extracts; a copy of which, in manuscript, is sent and read to all the congregations of the Brethren. By this means, a missionary spirit is cultivated among the whole members of the church: the young and the old, men, women, and children, all feel a kind of passion for missions; and hence they are seldom at a loss for faithful labourers to go even to the most inhospitable countries, and among the most savage tribes.

Besides the Elders' Conference of the Unity, several institutions of a more private nature have been formed among the Brethren, with the view of affording their assistance in carrying on their missions. In 1741, a Society for the furtherance of the Gospel among the Heathen was instituted in London, for the purpose of co-operating with the Committee of the Elders' Conference in providing for such missionaries as might pass through England

to the places of their destination. After some years, however, it was dissolved; but it was again renewed in 1766, and has taken upon it the whole expense of the mission to Labrador, besides assisting, as far as it was able, the missions in other quarters, particularly those in the British dominions. In 1746, a similar society was established by the Brethren in Amsterdam; but after some years it also was dissolved, in consequence of some misunderstanding among the members. It was again renewed, however, in 1793, at Zeist, near Utrecht. This society took particular charge of the mission at the Cape of Good Hope while the country was in the hands of the Dutch; but the state of Holland of late years has prevented it from being of much service. In 1787, the Brethren in North America established a society for propagating the gospel among the Heathen, which was incorporated by the state of Pennsylvania, and has since been useful in assisting the missions among the Indian tribes. It is necessary, however, to remark, that these three societies have no power to begin new missions, or even to send out missionaries. This, by the synods of the Brethren's church, is vested solely in the Elders' Conference of the Unity.^f

When any member of the Brethren's church feels disposed to go as a missionary among the Heathen, he communicates his desire to that department of the Elders' Conference which has the superintendence of the missions committed to its care. If, on inquiry into his circumstances, there appears no objection to his proposal, he is considered as a

^f Period. Accounts, vol. vii. p. xvi.

candidate for missionary service in general, unless he has a predilection for any particular place, and then special attention is paid to his wishes. No person is ever urged, and still less compelled to become a missionary, or even to accept of a call to any particular station.

As to the qualifications of their missionaries, much erudition is not required by the Brethren. They have learned by experience, that a good understanding, a friendly disposition, unfeigned humility, fervent zeal for the salvation of souls, and a heart inflamed with the love of Christ, are the best and most essential qualifications of a missionary. In general, they think, the habits of a student are not so well calculated to form a person for the toils and hardships of a missionary life, as those of a mechanic. Yet men of learning are by no means rejected by them, and in various instances, their superior literary attainments have not been without their use, especially where translations of the scriptures, or of other works, were to be made. When a new mission is to be undertaken, or a vacancy occurs in any of those already established, the list of candidates is examined, and such as are deemed most suitable are called upon, and accept or decline the invitation as they find themselves disposed.^{§*}

[§] Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 6; vol. vii. p. iv.—Holmes' Sketches, p. 470.—Panoplist, vol. ii. p. 436.

* It may easily be supposed that the Brethren, in the course of their long experience, must have acquired much practical wisdom in the conduct of missions among the heathen. The following principles adopted by them, are, we think, not unworthy of the attention of other missionary societies:

“It is of the greatest consequence that we, ourselves, are intent upon doing whatsoever we do, in the name of God, and

Among the many excellencies of the Brethren's missions, we cannot but particularly notice their system of visitation. Ever since the commencement of their labours, they have been in the practice of occasionally commissioning one or two of solely with a view to his glory, and not suffer ourselves to be swayed by our own spirit or prejudices. He will answer the prayers of his servants, if they are desirous to follow *his* direction in all things.

"In the choice of missionaries we ought to be very cautious, and well to examine the motives and character of the candidates.

"We think it a great mistake, after their appointment, *when they are held up to public notice and admiration, and much praise is bestowed upon their devotedness to the Lord, presenting them to the congregation as martyrs and confessors, before they have even entered upon their labours.* We rather advise them to be sent out quietly, recommended to the fervent prayers of the congregation, which is likewise most agreeable to their own feelings, if they are humble followers of Christ.

"As we wish above all things, that brotherly love be maintained among fellow labourers, we do not advise to place two men of different religious opinions and habits, however worthy in other respects, under one yoke.

"When converts from among the Heathen are established in grace, we would advise not immediately to use them as assistants in teaching, but to act herein with caution, and a reference to the general weakness of their minds, and consequent aptness to grow conceited.

"We also disapprove of bringing converts to Europe, under any pretence whatever, and think it would lead them into danger of injury to their own souls.

"Missionaries are no longer useful than as they are *with their whole heart* in their calling, and we advise to employ or retain none, but such as delight in their work.

"We advise that one of approved character and experience, be appointed first missionary to superintend the work, and that each prefer the other in love, and be willing to follow." *Letter from Mr. Latrobe in Panoplist, vol. ii. p. 437.*

their number, to visit the missionary settlements in a particular quarter. By this means, they obtain more complete information with respect to the character of the missionaries, the nature of their plans, the difficulties of their situation, the extent of their success, the state of the converts, the dispositions of the Heathen, and a thousand other circumstances, than it is possible to acquire from written communications; they can cheer, and animate, and strengthen the missionaries, ready to sink amidst the toils, and trials, and discouragements which attend their labours; they can restore harmony, where it has been interrupted; redress irregularities which may have occurred, and suggest new measures for the more successful prosecution of the work. Such visitations, must, no doubt, prove very expensive, but when conducted by men of wisdom and piety, candour, meekness, and humility, they can scarcely fail to produce such beneficial effects as amply to counterbalance the expense with which they are attended.

Both the Brethren at home who superintend the missions, and the missionaries abroad who conduct them, endeavour to manage them in such a manner as to render the expenses as small as possible. The missionaries receive no stated salary, but they annually send a list of necessaries from each place to the Brethren appointed to provide for the missions, and the articles wanted, after being approved of, are forwarded to them. The Brethren and Sisters belonging to one mission keep house in common, a circumstance which must contribute still further to diminish their expenses.^h

^h Period. Accounts, vol. vii. p. xxiii.

When the Brethren sent their first missionaries to the island of St. Thomas and Greenland, they were, from their extreme poverty, scarcely able to furnish them with more than a few shillings, to pay for what little they might need on their walk from Herrnhuth to Copenhagen, leaving them to depend chiefly on friends by the way, for a meal and a bed. Indeed, it would have been impossible for them to have carried on their missions among the heathen, had not Count Zinzendorf, with that unbounded liberality with which he devoted himself and all he possessed to the cause of Christ, provided for several years, the necessary expenses. Poor as the Brethren were, yet, from a deep sense of the importance of evangelizing the world, they were ready to obey every call to preach the gospel among the heathen, and to go forth, relying solely upon the Providence of God. Though their congregations, in the course of a few years, increased both in number and ability, yet finding that the most liberal contributions of their own body would not be adequate to the maintenance of the missions they had established, they formed a plan of rendering them as much as possible independent of such aid, by some of the missionaries working with their own hands for the support of themselves and their fellow-labourers, who were more particularly engaged in instructing the Heathen. Thus some were sent to the Danish West India islands, others to Surinam; some to Tranquebar and the Nicobar islands, others to Egypt and the Cape of Good Hope, chiefly with the view of establishing trades, not for their own private advantage, but for the general support of the mission. They were, at the same time, willing, accord-

ing to their ability, to assist in instructing the Heathen, even as those Brethren on whom this more particularly devolved, were ready to help them in their secular concerns, whenever their assistance could be useful. In the Danish West India islands, and in Surinam, this plan succeeded so well, that the Brethren maintained themselves, and in some instances, the benefits of it even extended to other stations, where a similar mode of support could not be adopted.ⁱ

In the management of their missions, the economy of the Brethren is truly singular. Previous to the war with France, the whole expense, on an average, was only about L.2,500 a-year; afterwards, in consequence of the enormous rise in the price of all the necessaries of life, it increased to about L.7000. Even this, however, is a very small sum, considering the magnitude and importance of their operations, though large when compared with the number and ability of the Brethren, who scarcely exceed twelve thousand persons, most of them in very moderate worldly circumstances. But the war not only augmented the ordinary expenses of their missions: it proved still more injurious by exhausting the resources of their congregations, many of which, particularly in Germany and Holland, were in the very midst of the belligerent armies, and were so impoverished by the plunderings and oppressions of a lawless soldiery, that they themselves stood in need of that very aid which they used so liberally and so cheerfully to dispense to others. In consequence of

ⁱ Period. Accounts, vol. vii. p. 200.—Spangenberg's Account, p. 56.

these circumstances, the Brethren were deeply involved in debt on account of their missions among the Heathen. Averse to obtrude themselves on public notice, preferring retirement upon principle, and doing good without wishing that good to be known by any but its miserable objects, they made no appeal for support to the Christian world at large, but struggled in secret with increasing difficulties, until, at length, the remonstrances of their friends, combined with the urgency of their wants, compelled them to come forward and make their embarrassments known. In consequence of the deep interest which this excited among the friends of missions, considerable sums were contributed in Britain to their support; but notwithstanding this, their debt increased from year to year, until, at last, it amounted to near L.8000. In this emergency, that God in whose faithfulness and love, they trusted with humble, yet implicit confidence, appeared for their deliverance. A sum of money due to the Brethren, which had long been considered as lost, was now recovered, and proved nearly equal to the liquidation of the debt. But though they were for the present relieved from their pecuniary embarrassments, there is no prospect of their being able to raise among themselves the sums necessary for the support of their missions, as their settlements in Germany are not likely to recover from the desolating effects of the late war for many years to come.^k We trust, therefore, that the

^k Concise Account of the Brethren's Missions, 1801, p. 14.—New York Christian Herald, vol. iii. p. 174.—Christian Guardian, vol. vi. p. 28, 141, 142.—Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 383; vol. vii. Preface, p. iii, xxiv; vol. viii. p. 165, 204.

Christian world will not permit these extraordinary men, who are "scarcely a whit behind the chiefest apostles," to struggle with pecuniary difficulties; but will come forward with alacrity and zeal, to assist them in carrying on those noble and important undertakings, in which they have been so long, so honourably, and so successfully engaged.

—New York Christian Herald, vol. iii. p. 174.—Christian
 Guardian, vol. vi. p. 204.—Period. Accounts, vol. vi.
 p. 283; vol. vii. Preface, p. iii. xiv; vol. viii. p. 103, 204.
 —Concise Account of the Brethren's Missions, 1807, p. 14.

CHAPTER SEVENTH.**PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE METHODIST
MISSIONARY SOCIETY.***

SECTION I.**WEST INDIES.**

IN September 1786, the Rev. Dr. Coke, accompanied by Messrs. William Warrener, John Clarke, and William Hammet, three other Methodist preachers, sailed from England for Nova Scotia; but after encountering a succession of tremendous storms, the ship proved so extremely leaky, that the Captain thought it impossible to reach the port of Halifax that season, and he, therefore, resolved to direct his course for the West Indies. Having at length reached Antigua, Dr. Coke and his companions, met with so favourable a reception from many of the inhabitants, that after visiting some of the other islands, they resolved, instead of proceeding to the original place of their destination, to attempt the establishment of a mission in the West Indies.^a

^a Coke's Journals of Five Visits to America, p. 49, 55.

* "The General Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society" was not established till 1817. For many years the management of the Methodist missions was entrusted chiefly to the Rev. Dr. Coke, assisted by a committee of finance and advice, consisting of all the ministers of the connexion resident in London.

Such were the apparently accidental circumstances which induced the Methodists to turn their attention to the Heathen, and to adopt systematic measures for the diffusion of Christianity among them. Of the missions which they established, we shall now give some account, beginning with that to Antigua, as to which, however, it is necessary to go a few years further back.

ARTICLE I.

ANTIGUA.

IN 1760, Nathaniel Gilbert, Esq. speaker of the House of Assembly in Antigua, began to make some attempts to promote the interests of religion on that island. Having, in a late visit to England, been himself impressed by the gospel, he endeavoured on his return to Antigua, to communicate to others the light of divine truth. His attempts were at first confined to a few persons, whom he collected together in his own house on the Lord's day; but afterwards he proceeded to preach in public, not only to the White people, but to the Negro slaves. Conduct so singular and unexampled could scarcely fail to excite general notice, and to draw upon him the insults and slanders of the enemies of religion, notwithstanding the high station which he occupied in the island. He persevered, however, in his labours, amidst torrents of reproach; and he had at length the pleasure of uniting about two hundred of his hearers into a Christian society, and continued to watch over them with all the affection

and solicitude of a father. But in the midst of these disinterested labours, he was called away from this terrestrial scene, and his disconsolate flock were left as sheep without a shepherd, having no one to guide them in the paths of religion, to reprove their wanderings, to comfort them in their afflictions, or to cherish the infant work of grace in their hearts.

From the death of Mr. Gilbert, near twenty years elapsed before one was found to supply his place. In 1778, Mr. John Baxter, a member of the Methodist connexion in England, embarked for Antigua, to work as a shipwright in the service of government; and, having on his arrival found religion at a very low ebb on the island, he immediately began to preach the gospel to as many as would hear him. Such of Mr. Gilbert's hearers as had survived the ravages of death, and remained faithful amidst abounding iniquity, soon flocked to him. But as Mr. Baxter was engaged in the employ of government during the day, he could devote only his leisure hours to their instruction. His ordinary practice was to travel in the evening to the plantations in the country, sometimes to the distance of ten miles; and after exhorting the slaves to flee from the wrath to come, he returned home under those heavy dews, which in a tropical climate, are so injurious to health, that he might be ready for the labours of the ensuing day. In the course of a few years, Mr. Baxter collected a society of near two thousand members; but unhappily, through a laxity of discipline, many were received into it, whose conduct but ill corresponded with their profession.^b

^b Coke's History of the West Indies, vol. ii. p. 427, 431,

In January 1787, Mr. Warrener, one of the preachers originally destined for Nova Scotia, was appointed to remain in Antigua; and Mr. Baxter, in order to devote himself entirely to the work of the ministry, relinquished the situation he held under government, which was worth L.400 a year, currency. It was now found necessary to discard many of the members, as unworthy of the profession they made, a circumstance which considerably reduced the number of the society. But the advantages which resulted from it, amply counterbalanced this inconvenience. It rescued the gospel from disgrace, induced those who remained to walk with greater circumspection, and ultimately proved beneficial to the interests of religion.^c

In this island, the Christian negroes were eminently distinguished by their love one to another. In times of sickness, they visited each other with the most affectionate solicitude, and when medical assistance was required by a patient who was unable to provide it, they instantly procured it without any regard to the expense. It was, at the same time, often peculiarly delightful to hear them express in broken accents, and with tears running down their sable cheeks, their estimation of the Saviour, in such words as the following: "No fader, no moder, no broder, no sister, no friend; but Jesus is all in all." They would then bless God that they had been taken from their native country, and brought to a

438, 460.—Account of the Rise, Progress, and present state of the Methodist Missions, 1804, p. 3.

^c Coke's Journals, p. 57.—Minutes of the Methodist Conferences, from 1744; vol. ii. p. 326.—Account of Methodist Missions, 1804.

distant land where they had an opportunity of hearing the glad tidings of salvation. ^d

In 1795, the government of Antigua, dreading an attack from the French in Guadaloupe, applied to the Methodist and Moravian missionaries to raise a corps of the members of their societies, to assist in defending the island. In compliance with this request, they levied between them, upwards of a thousand men. Sometime after, when Mr. Warrener was riding into the country, a negro called to him, and said, "Massa, when de fight to be?" "I hope never," answered Mr. Warrener. "Well," he replied, "we hope so too, but if de French come, we'll fight dem." In order, merely to try him, Mr. Warrener said, "And my negro, what would you fight for?" "Massa," replied he, "we fight for our wives, our children, our houses, and our chapel, massa." Happily, the French never came, but had they landed, there is little doubt the negroes would have proved faithful. These facts may be considered as a proof, at once, of the loyalty of the Christian slaves, and of the confidence of Government in them. ^e

In 1822, the Methodist Society on this island, consisted of the following members:

Whites,	...	...	...	...	...	...	40
Blacks and Coloured People,	...	...	...	...	...	...	4,205
Total,							4,245 ^f

^d Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 441; vol. iii. p. 64.

^e Ibid. vol. iii. p. 64.—Report of the Methodist Missions, 1816, p. 44.

^f Minutes of Conference, 1822, p. 46.

ARTICLE II.

ST. VINCENT'S.

IN January 1787, Dr. Coke, and three of his brethren, visited St. Vincent's, and were received with all that politeness and hospitality which distinguish the inhabitants of the West Indies. Mr. Clarke, one of the missionaries, remained on the island, encouraged by the promise of several of the planters, that their houses should always be open to receive him, and their negroes ever ready to hear his instructions. Having commenced his labours, he proceeded in a calm peaceful course, without meeting with any thing remarkable, either to facilitate or to retard his operations. His congregations were large, and his exertions appeared to be crowned with considerable success.^a

It must not, however, be supposed that opposition was entirely unknown; but for several years, it was confined to some lawless individuals, destitute alike of religion and humanity. One night, a number of rioters broke into the chapel, and after doing what mischief they could to the benches, they carried off the Bible, and hung it on the public gallows until the morning. Shocked at this horrid act of impiety, the magistrates offered a reward of one hundred pounds for the discovery of the perpetrators; but, though in this instance, the arm of authority was exerted for the protection of religion,

^a Coke's Journals, p. 59.—Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 258.

it was at length turned against her in a manner unparalleled in the history of Britain in modern times.^b

In December 1792, the Assembly of St. Vincent's, with the view of rooting the Methodists out of the island, passed a law, that no person except the rectors of parishes, should preach without a license; and that no individual should receive a license until he had resided, at least, twelve months on the island, a clause admirably calculated to banish the Methodists from among them, as their preachers would never consent to lie idle a whole year, in order to have liberty of petitioning at the end of that period, for a license, which, after all, would probably be refused, especially, as, according to their system, they frequently change from one island to another. For the first offence, it was enacted that the culprit should be punished by a fine of L.18, or by imprisonment for not more than ninety days, and not less than thirty; for the second, by such corporal chastisement as the court should think proper, and by banishment from the island; and to crown the whole, if he returned from banishment, by DEATH! It is, however, but an act of justice to the people in general, to state, that there is reason to believe, they were decidedly hostile to this law; many of the most respectable inhabitants reprobated it in the most unequivocal terms. The act, itself, was hurried through the Assembly at the close of the session: many of the members had retired before it was passed, and though there remained only a very thin house, they were by no means unanimous.

^b Coke and Moore's Life of the Rev. John Wesley, p. 475.
—Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 270.

Unappalled by this iniquitous law, Mr. Lumb, the missionary in St. Vincent's, preached as usual on the following Sabbath. In consequence of this, he was apprehended, and, on refusing to pay the fine, was thrown into prison. The magistrates, indeed, who committed him, offered to lay down two-thirds of the penalty, and one of the merchants would have paid the whole, but Mr. Lumb was determined to consent to nothing which might be construed as a voluntary submission to a law so execrable in itself, and so contrary to the spirit of the British constitution. When the period of his imprisonment had expired, he was released; but it was a release only to silence, or to voluntary banishment. He, of course, preferred the latter, and retired from St. Vincent's, uncertain whether any missionary would ever again be allowed to settle on the island.

Happily the law was in force only for a short time, for as all the acts of the colonial Assemblies must be transmitted to his Majesty for his royal sanction, the King was graciously pleased to disallow it, as contrary to the principles of toleration, of which he had always been the decided supporter.^c

In 1794, Messrs. Thomas Owens, and James Alexander, were sent to renew the mission on the island of St. Vincent's. Before the enactment of the late persecuting law, the members of the Methodist society on this island, amounted to near a thousand, but scarcely was it passed, when the number was reduced more than one half. Multi-

^c Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 271.

tudes who once appeared to run well, now wandered astray into the paths of error and of sin: so complete was their apostasy, that they threw aside, even the form of godliness. Still, however, there were a few, who amidst the general declension, maintained their stedfastness, and continued to assemble in small companies for singing and prayer. To collect the scattered remains of the flock was among the first cares of the new missionaries. Many now returned from their wanderings; the congregations began to increase: no obstacles of any moment occurred, except those powerful moral impediments which exist in every country, and in every heart. A spirit of religious toleration breathed through the island. Many who were once the persecutors of the missionaries, became their friends, and shewed them a degree of kindness and hospitality scarcely equalled in any other island. The prejudices of others, however, were rather smothered than subdued, and threatened to burst forth with renewed violence when any favourable opportunity presented itself.^d

In March 1797, Mr. H——, a magistrate and a member of the council, who had been celebrating St. Patrick's day with other gentlemen of the island, proceeded at the head of some of his companions, to the Methodist chapel, threw down the railing, burst open the door, broke nearly all the lamps, pulled down the communion rails, took the Bible, tore it in pieces, and scattered them on the ground. The

^d Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 277.—Account of Methodist Missions, 1804.—Watson's Defence of the Methodist Missions, p. 32.—Missionary Notices relating to the Methodist Missions, vol. i. p. 73, 235.

band of a regiment which accompanied them, then struck up with their instruments of music, and after shouting and dancing like so many madmen, the rioters took their departure. Seeing Mr. Pattison the missionary, as they passed, Mr. H——, the magistrate, said to him with a shrug and a sarcastic smile: “Sir, I came here to keep the peace.” His companions cursed, swore, and declared that if he said a word, they would take him to the market place and give him a sound whipping. No disturbance of any consequence took place for another year; but when the celebration of St. Patrick’s day returned, Mr. Pattison was apprehensive of a similar visit. He, therefore, proposed to Mr. Hallet, his fellow-labourer, that they should sleep that night, at the house of one of their friends who lived in the neighbourhood of the chapel. It was well they took this precaution, for in the dead of the night, some persons, armed with swords or cutlasses, broke into their house, entered the sleeping apartments, turned up the beds, and apparently searched for them in every corner. The friend at whose house they lodged that night, having come out on hearing the noise, one of the ruffians struck her in the face with a bludgeon.^e

In 1822, the Methodist Society in the island of St. Vincent’s, consisted of the following members:

Whites,	21
Blacks and Coloured People,	2,889
Total,	2,910 ^f

^e Watson’s Defence, p. 80.

^f Minutes of Conference, 1822, p. 46.

ARTICLE III.

ST. CHRISTOPHER'S.

IN January 1787, Dr. Coke, accompanied by two others of the Methodist preachers, visited St. Christopher's, and met with a very favourable reception from a number of the inhabitants. Mr. Hammet, one of the missionaries, remained on the island, and in a short time raised a considerable society. He was afterwards succeeded by other preachers who carried forward the work which he had so successfully begun. Multitudes of the negroes were impressed with concern about their souls, and though many of them afterwards apostatized or were expelled for improper conduct, yet the number who remained faithful was still very considerable. Many allowances, however, must be made for slaves whose situation in life depresses the growth of their mental powers, debases their understanding, and corrupts their heart. The negroes employed on the plantations have, in general, extremely scanty and confused ideas on almost every subject, and feel the utmost difficulty in expressing themselves with precision and perspicuity, concerning even the most ordinary circumstances. The testimony, therefore, which they bear for religion, must be sought for in the conduct of their life, rather than in the language of their lips. In the towns, however, particularly in Basseterre, the Negroes are more distinguished for the clearness of their conceptions and the accuracy of their language. Among them, indeed, there were several, who, by leading classes,

and exhorting their countrymen, rendered the mission very essential service.^a

In 1822, the Methodist Society in St. Christopher's consisted of the following members :

Whites,	42
Blacks and Coloured People,	2,261
Total,	2,303 ^b

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ARTICLE IV.

ST. EUSTATIUS.

IN January 1787, Dr. Coke visited St. Eustatius; but in consequence of the jealousy of the Dutch government, to whom the island belonged, he was not allowed to preach to the negroes. During his stay, however, he employed himself in instructing small companies, from eight to twelve at a time, in the house of a free Black with whom he lodged. A poor slave from America, who endeavoured to instruct his countrymen, had shortly before been prohibited by the governor from preaching to them, and he was soon after whipped, imprisoned, and banished from the island, simply for continuing to pray with them. To prevent the commission of similar crimes for the future, the government issued an edict, that if any White person was found praying with his brethren, he should be fined for the

<sup>a</sup> Coke's Journals, p. 62, 93.—Coke's History, vol. iii. p. 62, 66.—Account of Methodist Missions, 1804.

<sup>b</sup> Minutes of Conference, 1822, p. 46.



first offence, fifty pieces of eight; for the second, a hundred pieces; and for the third, suffer whipping, confiscation of goods, and banishment from the island. But if the culprit was a coloured man, he should, for the first offence, receive thirty-nine lashes; for the second, he should, if a free-man, be whipped and banished; and, if a slave, be whipped every time. <sup>c</sup>

In December 1788, Dr. Coke again visited St. Eustatius, and notwithstanding the persecution under which the Methodist Society on this island had of late laboured, its numbers amounted before his departure, to no fewer than two hundred and fifty-eight. He preached once; but next morning, he and two others of the company, received a message from the Governor and Fischal, requiring them to promise that they would not preach publicly or privately, by day or by night, to White or Black people, during their stay on the island, under the penalty of prosecution, arbitrary punishment, and banishment. Mr. Brazier, a preacher who had been raised up in the West Indies, was not included in this message. He, therefore, remained on the island, but the governor soon discovered and dislodged him. In the meanwhile, Dr. Coke left St. Eustatius; and some days after, on visiting Saba, a small island in the neighbourhood, he was astonished to find Mr. Brazier there before him. In compliance with the request of the governor and council, he appointed him to remain among them; but the governor of St. Eustatius, who possessed the supreme authority in the

<sup>c</sup> Coke's Journals, p. 64, 94.—Account of Methodist Missions, 1804.



Dutch possessions in that part of the West Indies, soon compelled them to part with their preacher.<sup>d</sup>

The Methodists in St. Eustatius enjoyed some relaxation on the arrival of a new governor from Holland; but as the old governor was afterwards restored, the flames of persecution were again kindled. The poor slaves who met to sing, and pray, and converse about religion, were whipped, and many of them imprisoned. In consequence of these severities, the society was almost entirely dispersed; but yet there were a few classes which kept together. They retired to some distance into the country, that they might assemble in quietness, and as often as circumstances admitted, they visited the neighbouring island of St. Christopher's, that they might enjoy the ordinances of the gospel. Dr. Coke even went to Holland for the purpose of obtaining from the Dutch government, toleration for the Methodists in St. Eustatius; but his applications were not attended with success.<sup>e</sup>

In 1810, after a lapse of many years, two of the Methodist missionaries waited on the governor of St. Eustatius, which had lately been captured by the British, and obtained liberty from him to attempt the establishment of a mission on the island. The preachers who first went thither, experienced considerable hostility; but they at length triumphed over all opposition. The tranquillity they enjoyed, formed a striking contrast to the intolerance of former years. The congregations were in general

<sup>d</sup> Coke's Journals, p. 95, 97, 99.

<sup>e</sup> Coke's Journals, p. 125, 167.—Coke's History, vol. iii. p. 62.—Drew's Life of the Rev. Dr. Coke, p. 259.



large, and many of the White people, as well as the negroes, heard the word with great attention.<sup>f</sup>

In 1822, the Methodist Society on this island, consisted of the following members :

|                                    |                  |
|------------------------------------|------------------|
| Whites, ... ..                     | 8                |
| Blacks and Coloured People, ... .. | 219              |
| <hr/>                              |                  |
| Total,                             | 227 <sup>g</sup> |

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ARTICLE V.

BARBADOES.

IN December 1788, Dr. Coke, accompanied by Mr. Benjamin Pearce, visited Barbadoes, and was received with the greatest politeness by different gentlemen on that island. Having obtained liberty to instruct the slaves on different plantations, Mr. Pearce remained in Barbadoes, and immediately commenced his labours with great energy and zeal. It was not long, however, before he began to experience most violent opposition from a number of the inhabitants. His enemies were many, and some of them men of rank and influence. A report was circulated, that under the pretence of instructing the negroes in the principles of religion, the Methodists designed to disseminate among them, notions incompatible with their condition as slaves, and with the interests of their masters. Repeated

^f Methodist Magazine, vol. xxxiv. p. 395, 396.—Watson's Defence, p. 128.—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1813, p. 8.

^g Minutes of Conference, 1822, p. 46.

attempts were made by the mob to interrupt the meetings for divine worship. One Wednesday evening near the close of the service, they broke forth with more than ordinary violence. All was confusion and disorder. They stamped, they whistled, they roared more like fiends than human beings. Leaving the chapel, they posted themselves at the door, and assailed it in a most outrageous manner. Here they shouted, threatened, swore, and discharged such volleys of stones, as if they intended to break it open. After taking ineffectual vengeance on the chapel, they retired amidst the noise of their own imprecations. In consequence of this attack, Mr. Pearce applied to a magistrate for redress. He heard his statement with apparent indignation at the rioters, issued warrants against several of them, and promised to do him justice. On the day of trial, Mr. Pearce appeared with several other respectable witnesses; but though the charges were proved by the most unquestionable evidence, the magistrate gave the following extraordinary decision: "The offence was committed against ALMIGHTY GOD: it therefore does not belong to me to punish it." Mr. Pearce was left with all his expenses to pay, a prey to a lawless mob, at once the scorn and the pity of his foes.

Finding themselves sanctioned by those who ought to have checked them, the enemies of the Methodists increased in number and in violence. To preach at night was utterly impracticable: even to sing a hymn, was almost a call to arms. The mob immediately surrounded the house, and assailing it with stones, compelled the few who had assembled to disperse. After some months, when tranquillity

was in a considerable degree restored, Mr. Pearce ventured again to preach in the evening; but in the course of a few weeks, a new disturbance was raised. One night, several young men entered the chapel and endeavoured to interrupt the service. Mr. Pearce bore with them for a considerable time without noticing their conduct; but the noise became at length so intolerable, as to overwhelm his voice. He then endeavoured to silence them by expostulation; but after making several ineffectual attempts, he was obliged to dismiss the congregation. On leaving the chapel, the rioters were joined by about a hundred others, who now constituted a formidable mob. Their first effort was to break open the door; but failing in the attempt, they demolished the window above it with stones. Mr. Pearce now ventured out among them, with the view of endeavouring to make them desist, and of marking such as were most active in the assault. On beholding the chief object of their malice, several of the rioters attempted to strike him; but though encircled with danger, he escaped unhurt. They then surrounded his house, determined apparently to give some signal display of their prowess; but after wearying themselves with menacing parades, they retired without doing any particular mischief.

On reviewing this flagrant assault, Mr. Pearce resolved to appeal once more to the justice of the island. The magistrates to whom he applied, issued their warrants with the utmost readiness against the rioters, and when brought before the court, five of them pleaded guilty. Previous to this, they had applied to Mr. Pearce, to have the matter accommodated without a trial, but the magistrates ex-

pressly prohibited any compromise with them. On pleading guilty, they received a severe reprimand from the bench, and were dismissed on condition of paying the whole expenses of that day's proceedings, and one half of the sum paid by Mr. Pearce to the lawyers whom he had consulted.

But notwithstanding this decision, some of the rioters soon afterwards, when Mr. Pearce was in the country, attacked his house, and assailing it with stones, struck his wife very severely. As the delinquents were unknown, it was impossible to bring them to justice: nothing remained but to bear the injury with patience, and to watch with vigilance against any similar attempt in future.^a

In 1791, Mr. Pearce was succeeded in his missionary labours by Mr. Lumb, who, on his arrival, found the prejudices of the planters, especially in the country, so far dispelled, that he had access to more estates than he was able to visit. There were no fewer than twenty-six plantations to which he went once a fortnight; but his visits were attended with little or no success. The Blacks, in general, were as indifferent to religion as the Whites. Many of them treated with contumely, its sacred institutions, and poured contempt on such as professed themselves its friends. A very extraordinary name was affixed to them, hallelujah. Even the little negroes learned the appellation, and called them by it, as they passed along the street.

The mission to Barbadoes continued in a very languishing state for many years. In Bridgetown, the capital, few attended the meetings for divine

^a Coke's Journals, p. 75.—Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 143.

worship, and even among these, a want of reverence could not have been more conspicuous, had the chapel been a theatre, and the gospel a farce. Persecution was now nearly unknown, or at least, only occasionally reared its head; but it had given place to a more deadly weapon, a settled contempt for divine things. In the country, a few doors still remained open; but the greater number were completely closed: the congregations were reduced to a shadow, seldom exceeding ten or twelve persons. In consequence of the death of several of the missionaries, and of the many discouragements they experienced, this island was repeatedly left without a preacher, a circumstance which contributed still further to retard the progress of the mission. Amidst these various trials, a few of the members maintained their stedfastness without wavering; but through abounding iniquity, the love of many waxed cold. Even some who once seemed pillars in the house of God, returned back to the world, and united with those whose chief delight it was to traduce the professors of religion. ^b

In April 1816, the slaves on some plantations in Barbadoes, rose in rebellion against their masters, and threatened to spread devastation wherever they came. A military force immediately marched against them, and killed or wounded eight or nine hundred, besides taking a great number prisoners. By the following morning, tranquillity was completely restored; but not until twenty estates in a single parish were entirely laid waste. By the enemies of missions, this insurrection was eagerly improved for exciting pre-

^b Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 150.—Coke's Journals, p. 119.

judices against the Methodists, both in this, and in other islands. Instruction was represented as tending indirectly to produce insubordination among the slaves, and the missionaries, as in some instances, the instigators of insurrection and disorder. The negroes in the other islands, it was alleged, were ready to follow the example of those in Barbadoes; and in order to check the rising danger, it was necessary to restrict, or totally prohibit the preaching, and especially the itinerant labours of the missionaries. We notice this accusation, chiefly, because the refutation of it is so easy, and so complete, while, at the same time, it is a striking instance of the slender foundation for the charges which are often brought against Christian missions. How little the insurrection in Barbadoes was connected with the labours of the Methodists, is demonstrated by the simple fact, that on this island they had experienced more than ordinary opposition, and had met with little success. At the time the rebellion broke out, there were not more than thirty-six Blacks in their society, out of a slave population of 71,215; and there was not a single Methodist missionary on the island, nor had there been any for seventeen months before, excepting one who merely touched there on his passage to another island. The charge, indeed, though brought forward immediately after the insurrection, was virtually abandoned by the Committee appointed by the House of Assembly to inquire into the circumstances of the rebellion: nothing was said, in their report, of missions or religion; the catastrophe was traced entirely to other causes.^c

^c Annual Register, vol. lviii. (Gen. Hist.) p. 161.—Watson's

In 1822, the Methodist Society on this island, consisted only of the following members :

Whites,	17
Blacks and Coloured People,	29
Total,	46 ^d

We are happy, however, to add, that the mission to Barbadoes, has of late, assumed rather a more promising aspect, than for many years past. In Bridgetown, the congregations have greatly increased, the hearers are generally serious and attentive, and among them, there are many of the most respectable of the inhabitants. ^e

ARTICLE VI.

DOMINICA.

IN December 1788, Dr. Coke, accompanied by others of his brethren, visited Dominica, and met with a very favourable reception from different individuals. Mr. William M'Cornock, one of the missionaries, remained on the island; but his labours were beyond his strength, and in a few months, he fell a martyr to his love to the cause of Christ, and to the souls of men. Previous to his death, he had raised a society of one hundred and

Defence, p. 10.—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1816, p. 15, 46.—Ibid. 1818, p. 35.—Ibid. 1819, p. 40.—Missionary Notices, vol. i. p. 73, 77.

^d Minutes of Conference, 1822, p. 46.

^e Miss. Not. vol. ii. p. 346; vol. iii. p. 217, 250.

fifty members ; but they were now left for several years without a pastor to instruct, to admonish, and to guide them. Most of them, in consequence of this, relapsed into their former practices ; but yet there were a few, who amidst the general declension, maintained their stedfastness. ^a

In 1794, after a lapse of about five years, Mr. Cook was appointed to the island of Dominica, and after some time, things began to assume a more promising aspect. The operations of the Methodists, however, were viewed with considerable jealousy by the White people. The absurd and hackneyed notion, that Christianity would introduce ideas of liberty and equality among the slaves, spread among the planters, and gave birth to a spirit of determined opposition to their religious instruction. The missionary who succeeded Mr. Cook, received a summons to appear in the field, the following Sabbath, to learn the use of arms. Surprised at such a requisition, he waited on the President of the Assembly, with whom it had originated, and petitioned that he might be exempted from military service, in order that he might attend to his ministerial duties, to which that day was in a peculiar manner appropriated. The President, however, not only treated his petition with contempt ; but said, he understood he was a very suspicious character, who disseminated dangerous doctrines among the slaves, and ordered him to quit the island. With this mandate he was obliged to comply, and thus the congrega-

^a Coke's Journals, p. 92.—Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 353.—Account of Methodist Missions, 1804, p. 4.

tion in Dominica, was once more left without an instructor, a monitor, or a guide.^b

In 1798, after a lapse of about two years, Mr. Dumbleton was sent to Dominica. On his arrival, many of the planters declared that no Methodist missionary should settle on the island; but their prejudices, by degrees abated, and numbers who had before protested against his residence among them, were ready to contribute to the building of a new chapel. On several plantations, the negroes, with the consent of their masters, erected little wooden huts, in which they assembled to hear sermon. The missionaries had liberty to preach on most of the estates throughout the island, and many of the proprietors even gave orders that they should be entertained at their expense.^c

On this island, the Methodists formed two principal establishments, the one in the town of Roseau, the other at Prince Rupert's bay, about thirty miles distant. Between these two places, the missionaries divided their labours, mutually changing their stations about once a month. The low marshy situation of Prince Rupert's bay, however, proved extremely injurious to their health: every time they went thither, it was at the risk of their lives. Several of them were attacked with fever during their residence at that place, and died after a short illness: Others were so debilitated by sickness, that they were obliged to seek a more salubrious climate for the restoration of their health. Dominica, was on the whole, the most unhealthy island on which the

^b Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 355.

^c Ibid. vol. ii. p. 358, 360, 363.

Methodists attempted to establish a mission. Hence, it was repeatedly left without a missionary, a circumstance which contributed not a little to check the progress of religion.^d

The Methodist Society on this island, has been remarkably distinguished by the fluctuation of its numbers. One year, * it consisted of only 50 members; in the following, it increased to 900. Another year, † they amounted to 750; in the following, they were reduced to 90; and in the next, they again rose to 600.^e

In 1822, the members of the Methodist Society on this island, were as follows:

Whites,	9
Blacks and Coloured People,	433
Total,	442 ^f

ARTICLE VII.

TORTOLA AND THE OTHER VIRGIN ISLANDS.

In January 1789, Dr. Coke, accompanied by others of his brethren, visited Tortola; and as a pleasing prospect of usefulness presented itself, Mr. Hammet, one of the missionaries, remained on the

^d Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 359, 362, 364, 366, 375; vol. iii. p. 137.—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1809, p. 10. Ibid. 1813, p. 8.—Miss. Notices, vol. i. p. 187.

^e Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 368.—Minutes of Conference, vol. iii. p. 88, 156, 219.

^f Minutes of Conference, 1822, p. 46.

* 1802.

† 1809.

island, and in a short time collected a large society. On the arrival of other preachers, they extended their labours to Spanish town, and many of the other islets which are scattered up and down in the vicinity, and like solitary rocks, lift their heads above the waves. To several of these they paid frequent visits in open boats, to the prejudice of their health, and often at the risk of their life, in order to preach the glad tidings of salvation to the few forgotten families who inhabit them.^a

As a proof of the importance of Christianizing the negroes, even in a political point of view, it is worthy of notice, that not long after the commencement of the war with France, the President of the Council received information, that the French inhabitants of Guadaloupe meditated a descent on the island. He immediately sent for Mr. Turner, the Superintendent of the mission in Tortola, and the other Virgin Islands, and having informed him of this report, added, that there was no regular force in the colony to defend it against the enemy, and that they were afraid to arm the negroes, unless he would put himself at the head of them. Mr. Turner was sensible, that such a step was not properly within the line of the ministerial office; but yet considering that the island was in imminent danger, that if it were conquered by the French, the religious privileges of the negroes would probably be lost, and that the war on their part was entirely of a defensive nature, he consented to the governor's request, and was accordingly armed,

^a Coke's Journals, p. 99.—Coke's History, vol. iii. p. 112.
—Account of the Methodist Missions, 1804.

with the negroes. About a fortnight after, a French squadron made its appearance in the bay; but being informed, it is supposed, by some emissaries, of the armed force on the island, they abandoned their design, and retired.^b

In December 1805, a most brutal outrage was committed on Mr. Brownell, one of the missionaries in Tortola. One day, as he was walking along the street, he was sternly accosted by a gentleman who directed him to read a paper which he put into his hand. On stepping aside for that purpose, he was seized by the arm, and dragged to the middle of the street, by the person who had just given him the paper, and who now proceeded to bestow on him the epithets of rascal and scoundrel, and afterwards to strike him on the face, first with a stick, then with his fist, next to pull him by the nose, and then to kick him. He was instantly joined by another person, equally furious and foolish as himself, who, after pouring forth more abusive language, struck him a violent blow on the breast. Mr. Brownell had scarcely time to turn round, before a third person struck him with the butt end of a whip, which cut his head very severely. His hand was raised to give a second blow; but providentially he did not strike, otherwise the consequences might have been fatal. A mob now collected around them, and while they were inquiring into the fray, Mr. Brownell escaped to the house of a gentleman in the neighbourhood. No sooner did his assailants discover that he had fled, than they pursued him; but happily, he eluded their notice, by prostrating

^b Account of Methodist Missions, 1804.

himself on the floor while they passed the window. In consequence, however, of the wound, and the bruises he had received, he was confined for some time, and was so ill, that he had to be attended by two physicians.

The cause of this brutal assault, was a letter written by Mr. Brownell sometime before, in which he said, "Fornication, adultery, and neglect of all religion, are reigning sins in this region." Of this letter which had been published in England, an extract was transmitted to Tortola; and these gentlemen, from a conviction, no doubt, of the unspotted purity of their own characters, and of the perfect innocence of the community in general, took this incontrovertible method of demonstrating the falsehood of the charges.

Not convinced, however, by this kind of argument, Mr. Brownell brought the affair before the grand sessions of the Virgin islands; but though the deed was committed in the street, and in open day, the jury could find no bill. He was even obliged to pay half the expenses, for bringing a matter frivolous and vexatious before the court, and was himself appointed to be tried for writing a libel on the community. Such, indeed, was the regard of the court to justice, that the very man who assaulted him, sat on the bench as one of the magistrates. The whole charge rested on the authority of a person who averred he had received a letter from a gentleman in England, stating that he had read in a magazine the words libelled, which were said to be contained in a letter from the defendant; but as this was a species of evidence which no court of justice could with any decency admit, the in-

dictment, after some vexatious proceedings, was quashed to the no small mortification of his enemies.^c

It must not, however, be supposed that the inhabitants of Tortola, in general, countenanced these iniquitous proceedings. Multitudes, on the contrary, highly disapproved of them; and the number of White people who attended the chapel afterwards considerably increased. It was so thronged by persons of all colours, that it could not contain the crowds who flocked to it. Even the chief magistrates had seats in it, and regularly occupied them. One of the members of his Majesty's Council was a communicant; and in common with most of those who filled the more exalted stations in the island, treated the missionaries with friendship and respect.^d

Previous to the establishment of the Methodist mission in the Virgin Islands, every species of wickedness prevailed among the negroes. Among other kinds of iniquity to which they were addicted, there was one called the *Camson*, a filthy lascivious dance, originally imported from Africa, which at once gratified their sensual appetites, and indulged their native superstitions. In the delirium of their guilty passions, they pretended to hold intercourse with the spirits of their departed friends, and to receive from them instructions which they considered themselves as bound implicitly to obey. These communications frequently consisted of an injunction to avenge some injury which the deceased was supposed to have sustained while living; but which

^c Coke's History, vol. iii. p. 130.—Watson's Defence, p. 79.

^d Coke's History, vol. iii. p. 132, 133.—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1809, p. 9.

he had never had an opportunity to revenge. The responses were delivered by some persons, who like the priests of the Delphic oracle, were concealed for that purpose. The culprit was named, and the punishment specified, so that the Camson which began with mirth, frequently ended in bloodshed. In vain had the magistrates endeavoured to suppress this barbarous custom. The deluded creatures evaded the vigilance of law, and sought to practise their abominations with an eagerness proportioned to the strictness of the prohibition. But through the preaching of the gospel, the negroes totally abandoned this diabolical custom. Many exchanged it for the practice of Christian morality, and reflected with horror upon the part they had borne in these detestable transactions.^e

In 1822, the Methodist Society in Tortola, consisted of the following members:

Whites,		41
Blacks and Coloured People,		1,959
	Total,	2,000 ^f

ARTICLE VIII.

JAMAICA.

In January 1789, Dr. Coke visited Jamaica, and was received by a number of the inhabitants, some of them persons of property, with extraordinary kindness, a circumstance which induced him to form high hopes of it as a field for missionary labour. Mr. Hammet, after labouring sometime

^e Coke's History, vol. iii. p. 141.

^f Minutes of Conference, 1822, p. 46.

in other islands, came to Kingston; but scarcely had he commenced his labours, when the spirit of opposition began to rage. Many of the White people not only created disturbance in the time of divine worship, but frequently beset the chapel, attacked the hearers with the most abusive language, and repeatedly assailed them with stones. The members of the society were obliged to guard the chapel, lest the outrageous mob should level it with the ground. One morning, when there was no watch, some burnt coals were found on the floor, which gave rise to a strong suspicion, that an attempt had been made by some incendiaries to set it on fire during the night. Some persons at last rose one night between eleven and twelve o'clock, and broke down the gates of the court before the chapel; and would probably have committed still further outrages, had not the arrival of the town guard checked their proceedings. Through the remonstrances of a gentleman of influence, some of the magistrates published an advertisement, which kept the mob from that time within tolerable bounds. One of the rioters was prosecuted, and three respectable White people gave the clearest evidence against him; but the oaths of the Methodists were considered as of no weight, and a midshipman being procured to swear an *alibi*, the fellow was acquitted of the charge. The grand jury, indeed, gave it as their opinion, that both Mr. Hammet and the chapel, ought to be prosecuted as nuisances. The Newspapers were for several months full of letters for and against the Methodists. Every thing evil was said of Mr. Hammet; every epithet that was disgraceful was given to him. With respect to Dr.

Coke, a ridiculous story was published of his having been tried in England for horsestealing, and flying to America to escape from justice.^a

Harassed with opposition and fatigue, Mr. Hammet was worn to a mere skeleton, and was obliged to remove to America for the restoration of his health; but previous to his departure, two other missionaries had arrived on the island. The violence of persecution now abated, and at length entirely ceased: a few stones were occasionally thrown at the chapel; but personal interruption seldom occurred. The missionaries by degrees, extended their labours to Port Royal, Montego Bay, and to various plantations in the country. Their exertions were not, indeed, crowned with that extensive success which attended the labours of their brethren in some other islands; but yet, they were by no means useless. In this peaceful course, they proceeded for a number of years; but, at length, the storm of persecution again broke forth, and raged with more violence than ever. Formerly it was the work of lawless individuals; now it was the deed of the legislative Assembly.^b

In April 1802, some of the local preachers visited Morant Bay, a place about thirty miles from Kingston, and in a short time, a small society was collected in that village. The enemies of religion, however, did not view their progress with indifference or unconcern. Indignant at their proceedings, they presented the places in which their meetings were held as nuisances to the quarter sessions of the

^a Coke's Journals, 101, 135.—Account of Methodist Missions, 1804.

^b Coke's History, vol. i. p. 422, 431.

parish ; but being able to produce nothing against either the preachers or their hearers, contrary to the laws of God or man, they were compelled, though with reluctance, to drop the prosecution. The meetings, therefore, were continued, as no legal opposition could be made to them, and they met with no interruption for sometime, except from the lawless rabble, and a few disorderly people about the place. But here the matter did not long rest. The Assembly of Jamaica soon afterward passed an act, ordaining that no person, unless he was qualified by the laws of that island and of Great Britain, should preach or teach, in meetings of negroes or people of colour ; that persons offending against this law should be deemed rogues and vagabonds ; that if the criminal was a freeman, he should be committed to the workhouse, and kept to hard labour, one month for the first offence, and six months for every repetition of it ; that if the case was extraordinary, the assizes might inflict any punishment not extending to life, they should think fit ; that if the criminal was a slave, he should, for the first offence, be committed for hard labour to the nearest workhouse for one month, and for every subsequent offence be subjected to a public flogging, not exceeding thirty-nine lashes ; and that any person who should knowingly permit such a meeting to be held on his premises, should be liable to a fine not exceeding L.100, and be committed to the common gaol until he should pay it, and give security for his future good behaviour.

As this act of the legislature of Jamaica professed to prohibit only unqualified persons from preaching to the negroes and people of colour, the Methodist

missionaries did not apprehend that they came within the meaning of the law, as they were possessed of regular licenses, which they had obtained in England, and which would have been admitted as valid in any court of justice in Great Britain. Mr. Campbell therefore continued to preach as usual in Kingston, and met with no kind of interruption; but when he proceeded to preach at Morant Bay, he was apprehended and taken before the magistrates, who committed him to prison, notwithstanding he produced to them a certificate of his being duly qualified according to the laws of England. When the month of his imprisonment expired, he returned to Kingston, and having applied to the quarter sessions of that town for a license, his request was immediately granted. After preaching about two months in the capital, Mr. Campbell, accompanied by his fellow missionary, Mr. Fish, once more visited Morant Bay; but as this was a different parish, neither of them ventured to preach, though they had both been qualified under the new law, without asking leave of the magistrates in that quarter. They, therefore, respectfully petitioned them for permission to qualify before them also, if they required it; but the magistrates returned for answer, that they would grant no licenses to preach, and as a punishment, it would seem, for even asking leave to qualify, they revived the old prosecution against Mr. Campbell, though it had now been dropped for sometime. Not content with his former imprisonment, they endeavoured to apprehend him for the penalty of L.100, on account of the house in which he had performed divine worship, and resolved to make him bring se-

curity that he would in effect never preach more; and unless he found such security, he was informed, he might be doomed to perpetual imprisonment. Mr. Campbell, therefore, by the advice of his friends, made his escape from Jamaica and returned to England, leaving Mr. Fish to take care of the flock at Kingston, where they still had the liberty of preaching. The serious people at Morant Bay, however, were now, in a great measure, left destitute of the means of grace. One of them, a very sensible and respectable man, was imprisoned for a month, simply for singing and praying with a few friends, as the magistrates, with the wisdom and impartiality of judges, construed this to be the same as preaching or teaching. All social worship was now at an end; nor was the mischief confined to this place, for the new law was employed as an engine for putting a stop to the preaching of the gospel in various other parts of the island.^c

But as by the constitution of Jamaica, no act of Assembly is permanently established as a law, until it receive the Royal assent, this bill had only a temporary operation. His Majesty, agreeably to the principles of toleration, which form an essential part of the British constitution, having refused his sanction to it, the pious people of Jamaica, after a lapse of two years, were again permitted to resume their meetings for the public worship of God. The missionaries now applied to their work with new energy: they extended their labours to other parts of the island; and their exertions appeared to be crowned with considerable success. But scarcely

^c Coke's History, vol. i. p. 443.—Evan. Mag. vol. xii. p. 136.

had the prospects of the Methodists begun to brighten, when a dark cloud again overcast them.^d

But though the bill was disallowed by his Majesty, the Assembly of Jamaica endeavoured to elude, as far as possible, the effect of the royal negative, and to establish a system of persecution equally terrible, at least within the precincts of Kingston. An act of the legislature of the island having been procured for erecting a corporation in the capital, an opportunity was taken of introducing into it a clause, by which the corporation of that town was empowered, among a variety of other particulars, to impose on all who should violate their regulations, fine and imprisonment to a large extent. The design of this clause was probably not perceived by the Board of Trade, and accordingly the act obtained the sanction of his Majesty. As the proceedings of the Corporation of Kingston were not subjected to the revision of the King, this circumstance was soon improved as a mean of reviving the old system of persecution.

In June 1807, the Common Council, under pretence of zeal for the purity of religion, passed an act by which any person not duly authorized by the laws of Jamaica and Great Britain, who should presume to preach or teach, or offer up public prayers, or sing psalms in any meeting of negroes or people of colour, within the city or parish, should if a free person, suffer punishment by a fine not exceeding L.100, or by imprisonment in the common gaol or workhouse, for any period not exceed-

^d Coke's History, vol. i. p. 443 ; vol. ii. p. 3, 11.—Evan. Mag. vol. xii. p. 136.

ing three months; and, if a slave, by imprisonment and hard labour for a space not exceeding six months, or by whipping not exceeding thirty-nine lashes, or both; that a similar punishment should be inflicted on every person who permitted such an illegal meeting in his house or premises; and that even in a licensed place of worship, there should be no public worship earlier than six in the morning, or later than sunset in the evening, under a like penalty.^c

By this cruel law, the slaves in the parish of Kingston were completely hindered from attending divine worship, except on the sabbath. Before the sun rises they had to be at their work, and they durst not leave it before it set. The Council of Kingston, therefore, very kindly, did not restrict them from receiving instruction when they had no opportunity; they only prohibited them when they were at liberty! Such were the methods adopted “for preventing the profanation of religious rites, and false worshipping of God.” It is not unworthy of notice, that the French and Spanish priests, who either had chapels, or wished to erect them, were permitted to worship God agreeably to the dictates of their consciences, while those who were not only Protestants, but the natural born subjects of Britain, laboured exclusively under the interdiction.

It was reported by the advocates of this measure, that “the meetings of the slaves and others, were held at unseasonable hours; that people could not

^c Christian Observer, vol. vi. p. 686.—Evan. Mag. vol. xv. p. 471.—Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 15.

pass through the streets without being annoyed with singing and praying; that the orderly inhabitants could not rest in their beds without being disturbed, as the new religionists were engaged in these exercises all night; and that there was nothing but singing and praying through all Kingston." Whatever may be thought of the other charges, the last of them was unquestionably erroneous; for rioting, dancing, billiards, theatrical amusements, and every species of dissipation abounded in that town. Nobody was molested in the enjoyment of them, nor will any one suppose, that these nurseries of vice were closed at an early hour, or that those who frequented them, were studiously careful not to interrupt the silence of the night. The professors of religion, ought not, therefore, to have sustained alone the charge of disorder, while their accusers themselves, were not less guilty.

It must, however, be acknowledged, that these allegations were not entirely without foundation. Among the Methodists, and others who made a profession of religion, there were some whose zeal was greater than their knowledge, and hurried them into extravagancies, which the more sober-minded viewed with unaffected sorrow. Their enemies, at the same time, manifested a singular degree of sensibility with respect to improprieties of this kind, even the most inconsiderable. Previous to the enactment of the law, a man was put in confinement, simply for praying too loudly in his own house between eight and nine o'clock at night, which was, at least, not a late hour!

Several months elapsed after the passing of this law, before any of the Methodists fell under its

iniquitous lash ; but, at length, the missionaries in Kingston, by a piece of indiscretion which can admit of no apology, brought the weight of its vengeance on their head. One night, there was a public dance in their neighbourhood, which was attended by some of the most powerful and opulent individuals in the island. It was Saturday ; but yet the amusement was protracted to a late hour. Messrs. Gilgrass and Knowlan, the two missionaries, apprehending an infringement of the Sabbath, availed themselves of the established law, and sent notice to the company to break up their amusement. Irritated by what they deemed an insult, the assembly refused to comply with the message, and probably protracted the entertainment longer than they otherwise might, purely from motives of defiance. The missionaries finding their notice slighted, and the laws trampled under foot by those very individuals who ought to have supported them by their example, insisted on the town guard going to disperse them. Mr. Gilgrass himself accompanied the guard, and soon broke up the Assembly. Such an imprudent measure could not fail to imbitter their enemies against them, and to render them more eager than ever to detect them in some breach of the law. Unfortunately it was not long before they found the desired opportunity. Mr. Gilgrass was in the habit of teaching the young people to sing hymns, between five and six o'clock in the evening. A few nights after the interruption of the dance, Mr. Firth, a missionary who had just arrived from England, introduced a new tune, to which the others listened, he and his wife being excellent singers. At a quarter past six, the police officer and a magistrate,

entered the house with a night guard, and were going to carry them to the cage, a place where vagabonds guilty of misdemeanours, were confined; but they were satisfied for the present, with taking their promise to appear in court. On appearing before the corporation some days after, Mr. Gilgrass was sentenced to be confined in the common gaol for one month. Mr. Knowlan's punishment was remitted in consequence of his indisposition, and even Mr. Gilgrass was permitted to leave the prison after about a fortnight's confinement, a treatment more lenient than could have been expected, considering the temper of their enemies, and the provocation they had of late received.^f

The law of the Corporation of Kingston was necessarily confined in its operation to the precincts of that parish; but, in the meanwhile, the Assembly of the island, under the pretence of exciting the proprietors of negroes to instruct them in the principles of religion, passed an act, ordaining that the instruction of slaves should be confined to the doctrines of the church of England; that no missionaries should presume to teach them, or receive them into their houses or assemblies, under the penalty of L.20 for every slave proved to have been present; and if the offender refused payment, he should be committed to the county gaol until the fine was discharged.

By this means a complete stop was put to the labours of the Methodists in Jamaica. Prohibited as they were from admitting slaves into their assemblies; they still wished to preach to people of free

^f Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 13, 21.

condition; but all their applications for a license, were refused in the most pointed manner. Frequently before the chapel was completely shut, while persons of free condition went in to attend divine worship, the slaves crowded around the door which the law forbade them to enter, with looks of the most expressive sorrow, and words of the most melting eloquence. Some might be heard saying: "They would not make Massa go again to gaol: me no go in a chapel; but me hear at door and window." Others were heard to exclaim: "Massa me no go to heaven now." "White man, keep Black man from serving God." "Black man got no soul." "Nobody teach Black man now." The missionaries beheld them, and wept, but durst say nothing. They were even obliged to appoint persons to stand at the door of the chapel, to prevent the slaves from entering, and involving them in enormous fines.^g

The Assembly knowing that such a measure would be disapproved of by his Majesty, resorted to the trick of ingrafting it upon an act to continue the general system of the slave laws, which had been consolidated into a temporary act that was then about to expire. Their agent was of course instructed to represent, that if the act of continuation was disallowed, Jamaica would be left destitute of slave laws, a circumstance which could not fail to endanger the peace and safety of the island: but the Board of Trade found a way to frustrate this shameful artifice, by advising his Majesty to

^g Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 19, 23.—Watson's Defence, p. 144.—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1813, p. 11.—Ibid. 1814, p. 11.

disallow both the act in question, and the act of repeal, which had never expressly received the royal sanction, though it had been several years in force. The general slave laws, therefore, were by this means still established, and only the persecuting clauses of this new bill disannulled.

But as the legislature of Jamaica, by the stratagem of delaying to transmit the act for the royal sanction, while it had its operation in the island under that of the governor, had, for more than a year, suspended the meetings of the negroes for public worship, his Majesty, to prevent the repetition of such shameful proceedings in that or any of the other islands, issued a general order to the governors in the West Indies, commanding them, that they should, on no pretence whatever, give their assent to any law relative to religion, until they had first transmitted a draught of the bill to England, and had received his Majesty's approbation of it, unless in the body of the act a clause was inserted suspending its operation, until the pleasure of his Majesty should be known respecting it.

Enraged at this new disappointment, the Assembly of Jamaica came to various resolutions on the state of the island, in which they declared, that the prohibition of passing laws on the subject of religion was a violent infringement of the constitution of the colony; that until it was withdrawn, it was the duty of the house to exercise their privilege of withholding supplies; and that after a certain period, until this grievance was redressed, no money should be granted or raised within the island for the support of the military establishment. In consequence of these violent proceedings, the

Duke of Manchester, the governor, immediately dissolved the Assembly.^h

In November 1810, the Assembly not discouraged by the decision of the government at home, passed a new act on the subject of religion, and introduced into it such regulations relative to the licensing of preachers and places of worship, as plainly shewed that it was their design to prevent the instruction of the negroes by those who alone were willing to teach them. This law, indeed, was to continue in force only for twelve months; but this very circumstance, which might seem trivial, displayed the artfulness of the Assembly, being no doubt intended to elude his Majesty's disallowance of the bill, as by the time that could be notified, the law would have expired. How the governor, in direct opposition to an express command from his Majesty, should have given his assent to such a bill, it is not easy to explain.ⁱ

By these means, all preaching was for sometime at an end; but as the restrictions did not extend to private assemblies, Mr. Wiggins, the missionary, employed himself in meeting classes, in administering the Lord's Supper, and in the discharge of other ministerial duties. After the expiration of the last act of Assembly, he ventured to preach in Kingston; but, as the law of the Corporation of that town was still in force, he did not escape the vigilance of his enemies. Next day he was summoned before the magistrates, and was sentenced to one month's imprisonment in the common gaol. It appeared indeed as if the enemies of religion

^h Evan. Mag. vol. xvii. p. 296, 342; vol. xviii, p. 128.

ⁱ Christian Observer, vol. ix. p. 601.—Evan. Mag. vol. xix. p. 395, 439.

were determined to put a period to the labours of missionaries on the island.^k *

^k Buchanan on a Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishment, p. 86.

* Though much of the hostility which the Methodists experienced in Jamaica, and some of the other West India islands, arose, no doubt, in many instances, from the natural enmity of the human heart against religion, and in other cases, from ignorance, and misapprehension of the nature and design of their labours, yet, in some instances, it was greatly increased by considerations of a private nature. We are often at a loss to account for the persecutions which broke out against them: no misconduct on the part of the missionaries; no conspiracies among the slaves; no rumour of the approaching attack, prepares us for any such event. The storm gathers and bursts before we are aware. Of this, however, we have a satisfactory explanation in the following passages, in Mr. Watson's very able "Defence of the Methodist Missions in the West Indies." "Other causes," says he, "which have produced many instances of individual opposition, and which, in some cases, have chiefly promoted acts of legislative oppression, could be adduced; but we do not seek occasion of crimination, though the causes of opposition we allude to, would greatly explain and fix its character."—"If it should appear that the real offence given by missionaries is their preaching faithfully against certain reigning vices; that among the number of those "turned to righteousness," have been many females who were the objects of illicit attachment, and licentious intercourse; that the personal ill treatment which the preachers of "righteousness, temperance, and judgment to come," have in many cases experienced, has been the consequence of violent resentment, produced by checks put upon vicious indulgence, by the introduction of a stronger principle of morality among the slaves and females of colour; and that restrictive laws, gravely proposed to legislatures, have been, in instances which might be given, mainly the work of men who had such injuries to complain of, then the whole controversy would be placed in a light in which that party are not, we are persuaded, disposed to have it viewed. On this subject, evidence is not wanting; but the necessity of adducing it, shall be created only by the

In December 1815, Mr. John Shipman began to preach again in Kingston, after the chapel had been shut, with one short interval, for upwards of eight conduct of those who are most anxious to justify their zeal against missions on very different grounds."

Among the pretences under which the persecutors of the Methodists in Jamaica masked their opposition to them, was zeal for the purity of religion, and their dread of the pernicious effects of the fanatical reveries of the missionaries. No doubt, they were admirable judges of orthodox doctrine, and of the language in which it ought to be expressed! We have an amusing instance of the proneness of some men to start at shadows, and of the strange construction which fear and jealousy may put on the most harmless matter, in the following Extract from the Minutes of the Jamaica Common Council, containing questions put to Mr. Bradnock, one of the missionaries:

In Common Council, December 14th, 1807.

Question 6. Are you aware of a resolution of the Society of Wesleyan Methodists, entered into at the last Annual Conference to this effect: "That no person shall be permitted to retain any official situation, who holds opinions contrary to the total depravity of human nature." If so, answer whether the term, "official situation," does not include you as a preacher? and what, to the best of your knowledge and belief, is alluded to by the words, "total depravity of human nature?"

Answer. Does not know of such a resolution being enacted lately, but thinks it proper. Supposes the term, "official," applies to his office among others. Thinks the words, "total depravity," alludes to our fallen nature.

Question 7. Do you *conscientiously* think that the resolution before mentioned, purports that no person should hold an official situation, who has opinions against the fallen nature of man, as being born in sin, *and that it has no allusion whatever to the state of bondage as it exists in this country*, being the total depravity of human nature?

Answer. Answers particularly in the affirmative.

There were, it seems, some subtile divines in the Common Council in those days, men admirably qualified to judge of the doctrines taught by the missionaries. *Watson's Defence*, p. 141.

years. After several unsuccessful applications, he had, to the astonishment and the joy of the friends of religion, obtained permission to take the oaths to government, and a license to preach the gospel. This was so unexpected, and so improbable, that many of the leaders would scarcely believe it, even when assured of the fact on the best authority, and in the most positive terms. Others of the missionaries afterwards obtained similar licenses, so that the privilege was not confined to Mr. Shipman. Having divided the island into as many districts as there were principal societies, they proceeded in their labours with increased energy and zeal. They now received more invitations from planters to preach on their estates, than they had ever done before. Their congregations greatly increased, and their societies were augmented to an extent unknown in any other island. It is truly gratifying to observe, that, on this island, those prejudices which so long, and so powerfully operated against the Methodists, are rapidly dying away. It is a circumstance not unworthy of notice, as an indication of the change of opinion in Jamaica, that on the death of Mr. Bugar, one of the missionaries, the magistrates and vestry of the parish, voted to his widow, the sum of one hundred Pounds Sterling, as a testimony of their sense of his good conduct during his residence at Morant Bay. In the meanwhile, the House of Assembly did not entirely lay aside its hostility to the Methodists; but though it passed some acts against them, they were not for the present acted upon to any considerable extent.¹

¹ Rep. Meth. Miss. 1815, p. 12.—Ibid. 1816, p. 21.—Ibid. 1817, p. 26.—Miss. Notices, vol. i. p. 40, 66, 107, 163, 188; vol. iii. p. 372.—Meth. Mag. vol. xli. p. 237; vol. xlii. p. 522.

In 1822, the Methodist Societies in Jamaica, consisted of the following members:

Places.	Whites.	Blacks and Coloured People.	Total.
Kingston,	15	3,704	3,719
Morant Bay,	9	3,069	3,078
Grateful Hill,	3	441	444
Spanish Town,	1	234	235
Montego Bay,	5	155	160
St. Ann's Bay,	—	40	40
Total,	33	7,643	7,676 ^m

During the first twenty years of the Mission, the members of the Methodist Society in Jamaica seldom exceeded a thousand, and, in general, were far below that number. Its progress was materially retarded by the successive persecutions which were raised against it, and by the consequent suspension of the preaching of the gospel, and of other Christian ordinances. During these seasons of trial, many of the members, as might naturally be expected, apostatized from their religious profession. Some sunk into a state of total indifference; others fell into open vice. It was chiefly during the last eleven years, that the mission had assumed a flourishing aspect. Within that period, the members increased from 900, to the number now stated, 7,676.ⁿ

ARTICLE IX.

BERMUDA.

IN the beginning of 1799, Mr. John Stephenson proceeded to Bermuda, with the view of commenc-

^m Minutes of Conference, 1822, p. 46. ⁿ Ibid. vol. i. ii. iii. iv.

ing a mission in the Somers' Islands. On his arrival he had powerful prejudices to encounter; but in a short time, they in a considerable degree abated. His prospects having begun to brighten, the enemies of religion were roused to hostility; and finding themselves unable to check his progress, without the aid of law, they at last obtained the interference of the legislature.

In May 1800, the House of Assembly passed an act, prohibiting all persons from preaching or exhorting, who were not ordained according to the forms of the Church of England or of Scotland, under a penalty of L.50, and six months' imprisonment for every offence, and inflicting a similar punishment on the person in whose house the meeting was held. Mr. Stephenson, considering this law as inconsistent with the principles of toleration, which form an essential part of the British Constitution, and as an infringement of the birthright of a British subject, continued his ministerial labours in nearly the same manner as before. He was allowed to go on without molestation for about a month; but he was at last apprehended, carried before the magistrates, and committed to gaol to take his trial at the next assizes. With him, was committed Mr. Pallais, the person in whose house he preached.

After lying a number of days in prison, they were both liberated on bail. Mr. Stephenson originally intended to have remained in gaol until the assizes, which did not meet for near six months; but on making the experiment for a short time, he found that confinement would not only impair his

health, but prove exceedingly expensive, as the charges amounted to fifteen shillings a-day. Besides, he was apprehensive that the society he had collected, would be dispersed during his confinement, while, if he accepted of liberty, he would have an opportunity of visiting them privately, and might by this means, keep them together until the storm blew over.

On the meeting of the assizes, Mr. Stephenson appeared before them, was tried for the high crime of preaching the gospel, and condemned to six months' imprisonment in the common gaol, to pay a fine of L.50, and to discharge all the fees of the court. After he had lain five weeks in prison, the governor offered to liberate him, on condition that he would quit the island within sixty days; but as he thought this dishonourable to the noble cause for which he suffered, he declined the offer. He proposed, however, in case of his liberation, to find bail that he should not break the law while it continued in force; but this offer was refused.

In June 1801, Mr. Stephenson, after lying in gaol six months, was liberated agreeably to his sentence; but his constitution was so broken by his confinement, that he was disabled for those active exertions which he had been accustomed to make. He continued on the island some months longer, languishing under a weight of bodily infirmities, and the interdictions of law. The members of the society had kept together better than might have been expected; but he could only visit them in their own houses, and converse with them privately. As there was so little prospect of his being useful,

he was recalled from Bermuda, which was now left without a missionary.^a

Applications were, in the meanwhile, made to the government in England, to disallow the act of Assembly; but from various circumstances, near three years elapsed before its repeal was publicly announced. The spirit, however, which gave it birth, did not expire with it. Many of the men in power, still cherished their hostility to the Methodists, and exhibited a menacing aspect to any who should attempt to preach among them, the unsearchable riches of Christ. On this account, a considerable time elapsed before any missionary could be induced to venture to Bermuda. Each saw before him an apparent certainty of persecution, and but little prospect of usefulness.^b

In April 1808, Mr. Joshua Marsden proceeded from New Brunswick to Bermuda, after that island had been without a missionary for about six years. He expected to find on his arrival, a small society, the fruit of Mr. Stephenson's labours; but in this he was miserably disappointed. With the exception of Mr. Pallais, who was now aged, infirm, and poor, he did not find a single person who appeared to welcome his arrival. All to whom he spoke, were of opinion that government would not allow him to preach, and their wishes seemed to be in unison with their sentiments.

Contrary to expectation, Mr. Marsden obtained permission from the governor to preach, and was attended by considerable numbers of the inhabitants;

^a Coke's History, vol. iii. p. 237.

^b Ibid. vol. iii. p. 243, 247.

but though he met with no violent opposition, he had to encounter great indifference. The prospects of the mission appeared, indeed, to brighten at times; but they were again greatly overclouded. Though many of the inhabitants, both rich and poor, attended the preaching of the gospel, comparatively few became members of the society.^c

In 1822, the Methodist Society in Bermuda, consisted of the following members:

Whites,	59
Blacks and Coloured People,	47
Total,	106 ^d

ARTICLE X.

BAHAMA ISLANDS.

IN October 1800, Mr. William Turton arrived at New Providence, one of the Bahama islands. Previous to this, Mr. Hammet, who, after retiring to America for the recovery of his health, withdrew from the Methodist connexion, had successively sent three missionaries to the Bahama islands; but though they collected a small society, they were themselves chargeable with such gross misconduct, that they brought disgrace on the profession of religion. On the arrival of Mr. Turton, the name of a Methodist, in consequence of this, was obnoxious in the ears of the inhabitants; but yet he

^c Coke's History, vol. iii. p. 248—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1811, p. 13.—Ibid. 1814, p. 13.—Ibid. 1815, p. 14.

^d Minutes of Conference, 1822, p. 47.

obtained permission to preach, and though a law had previously been enacted, prohibiting the instruction of the slaves, he was attended by considerable congregations, and succeeded in raising a small society. Other missionaries having afterwards arrived in New Providence, they extended their labours to Eleuthera, Harbour Island, Abaco, and others of the Bahama islands. On some of these, their prospects were highly encouraging; their congregations were large, attentive, and respectable; and their labours were productive of a great reformation among the inhabitants. In Harbour Island, drunkenness, swearing, fighting, and Sabbath-breaking, prevailed in a very high degree when the missionaries first visited it; but after a few years, these evils in a great measure disappeared. But though the utility of their labours was so apparent, they were not without their enemies, who were eager to oppose them, and to shackle them in their operations.^a

In 1816, the legislature passed an act, prohibiting under a severe penalty, meetings for divine worship, earlier than sunrise, and later than sunset, a measure which not only deprived the slaves, in general, of the ordinary opportunities of instruction during the week; but numbers of them of all instruction whatsoever. On hearing of this iniquitous prohibition, many of the negroes came to the missionaries in tears, and burst forth in the most melting lamentations for the loss of their religious privileges. It was truly affecting on the Sabbath

^a Coke's History, vol. iii. p. 200.—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1813, p. 13.—Ibid. 1814, p. 12.—Ibid. 1816. p. 23.—Ibid. 1819, p. 50.—Miss. Notices, vol. i. p. 32, 67, 193.

morning, to behold some of the oldest members ascending a neighbouring hill to see whether the sun was risen, before they durst begin to sing the praises of their Creator. After a few years, however, the legislature retraced its steps, and repealed the restrictions which it had laid upon the poor negroes.^b

In 1822, the members of the Methodist Societies in the Bahama islands, were as follows :

Places.	Whites.	Blacks & Coloured People.	Total.
New Providence,	92	300	392
Eleuthera,	200	80	280
Harbour Island,.....	150	177	327
Abaco,	70	20	90
Turk's Island,	13	21	34
Total,	525	598	1,123 ^c

ARTICLE IX.

ST. DOMINGO.

IN November 1816, Messrs. John Brown and James Catts, sailed from England for Port au Prince, the capital of the Republic of Hayti, in the island of St. Domingo. A short time before, Captain Reynolds, a member of the Methodist Society, when at Port au Prince, was informed by the Secretary of State, in reply to some inquiries he had addressed to him, that Protestant missionaries would

^b Rep. Meth. Miss. 1817, p. 27.—Miss. Notices, vol. i. p. 160; vol. iii. p. 94.

^c Minutes of Conference, 1822, p. 47.

not only be tolerated, but welcomed by the government. It deserves, indeed, to be recorded to the honour of the negro republic of Hayti, that liberty of conscience forms one of the articles of its constitution.

On their arrival, the missionaries began to preach in Port au Prince, and other parts of the Republic. In the capital they had a numerous and attentive congregation: in the country they were uniformly treated with kindness and respect. The inhabitants, indeed, were extremely ignorant, wicked, and superstitious; but yet, in a short time, a number of them appeared to be impressed with divine things, and were formed into a society.

In the whole of their intercourse with the government, the missionaries were treated with the greatest condescension and kindness. They were not simply tolerated; they experienced on all occasions, the utmost readiness on the part of the President Boyer, to encourage and promote their plans, particularly with respect to the education of youth.^a

But though the government was favourable to the missionaries, they were obliged, after a residence of about two years in St. Domingo, to withdraw from the island in consequence of the tumultuous opposition of the populace. It is worthy of notice, that on their departure, the President Boyer, not only expressed himself highly satisfied with their conduct; but transmitted a donation of Five Hundred Pounds to the funds of the Methodist Missionary Society.^b

^a Miss. Notices, vol. i. p. 93, 145, 217, 241.—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1817, p. 33.—Ibid. 1818, p. 38.

^b Rep. Meth. Miss. 1819, p. 63.

After the departure of the missionaries, the small society which they had collected, continued to assemble together; but being prohibited from doing so, they were compelled to hold their meetings at midnight. The police, however, was very active in hunting them out; and by the instigation, chiefly of one of the priests, seized them, both men and women, and dragged them to prison. Every method was tried to induce them to abandon the Protestant religion, and to return to the Catholic faith; and in some instances, with too much success. Many were at different times cited to appear before the President Boyer; but he at first, used to dismiss them, saying that every man was at perfect liberty to worship God agreeably to the dictates of his conscience; and he afterwards set at liberty some of those who had been thrown into prison. But though the head of the republic was favourable to religious liberty, the persecution still continued. Even if a person harboured a Methodist in his house, he was liable to have his goods confiscated.^c

In 1820, the Methodist Society on this island, consisted of fifty-six members, all of them Blacks or People of Colour.^d

SECTION II.

CEYLON.

IN December 1813, Dr. Coke sailed from Spithead, with six missionaries, namely, Messrs. William

^c Miss. Notices, vol. ii. p. 314, 326, 328, 348; vol. iii. p. 134, 136.

^d Rep. Meth. Miss. 1821, p. 16.

M. Harvard, Benjamin Clough, William Ault, George Erskine, Thomas H. Squance, and James Lynch. The heart of Dr. Coke was particularly bent on a mission to Ceylon: neither his age, nor the length of the voyage, nor any other consideration would divert him from his purpose. He had often met with much opposition from his Brethren in the Conference to other missions which he proposed, in consequence of the state of their finances; and as the missionary fund, laboured at that time under considerable embarrassments, he was apprehensive that his favourite plan would be frustrated, unless he could obviate this difficulty. He, therefore, generously offered to bear out of his own private fortune, the whole expense of the outfit, to the extent of SIX THOUSAND POUNDS, should that sum be necessary. Awed into silence by this noble act of beneficence, the Conference, while they were not without apprehensions of their ability to carry on so expensive an undertaking, agreed to extend their operations to the eastern world. *

Anxious, however, as Dr. Coke was to establish a mission in Ceylon, he was not destined to see the work begun. During the first four months of the voyage, none on board enjoyed better health; but he, at length, felt himself rather indisposed for a day or two. His complaints, however, appeared of so trifling a nature, that neither he nor his companions, felt the smallest alarm. He was still able to be present at table, walked on deck at his accus-

* The Conference do not appear to have accepted Dr. Coke's generous offer, but only borrowed from him L.3,291. He expended, however, a considerable sum in the outfit of the mission, in addition to what his brethren allowed for this purpose.

tomed hour, and pursued his studies as usual. On the evening of the second day, when he was retiring to rest, Mr. Clough, by his own request, gave him a little laxative medicine, and offered to sit up with him during the night. But the Doctor, not apprehending any danger, declined the offer with his usual sweetness of temper, and desired him to go to bed. Thus terminated the intercourse of this venerable man with mortals. In the morning he was found lying on the floor, a cold and lifeless corpse. He died, it was supposed, of apoplexy, a disease to which he had a considerable disposition. His mortal remains were consigned the same afternoon to the mighty deep, to be seen no more, till that morning when "the trumpet shall sound, and the dead shall be raised incorruptible." ^a

Among the advocates and promoters of Christian missions, Dr. Coke is entitled to hold no ordinary place. During the last thirty years of his life, the diffusion of Christianity, particularly among the heathen, appears ever to have been uppermost in his thoughts. It was chiefly through his instrumentality, that the missions of the Methodists were at first begun; and it was principally by his activity, that they were for many years supported. With a view to the propagation of Christianity, he crossed the Atlantic not less than eighteen times. While in England, he was much employed in travelling through the country, soliciting subscriptions for missionary purposes. He stooped to the very drudgery of charity, and pleaded the cause of a perishing

^a Drew's Life of Dr. Coke, p. 350, 352, 357.—Meth. Mag. vol. xxxvii. p. 118, 473; vol. xxxviii. p. 30.

world from door to door. His unconquerable activity was attributed by the world to enthusiasm, by his enemies to ambition; but by his friends, who knew him best, to zeal for the glory of God, and the salvation of men. He was not, however, without his faults. Of a warm sanguine temperament, he was frequently hurried into schemes without consideration, was liable to be provoked by opposition, was improvident in his plans, profuse in his expenditure, and had, we suspect, no inconsiderable share of vanity. His many excellencies, however, more than counterbalanced his faults, and even threw a kind of lustre around them.^b

In June 1814, the missionaries arrived at Ceylon, and though deprived of their venerable leader, were received in the most cordial manner, by Sir Robert Brownrigg, the Governor, Sir Alexander Johnston, the Chief Justice, and others of the principal inhabitants of that island. It is impossible, indeed, to praise too highly the conduct of these distinguished personages. They appeared to take a heartfelt interest in the mission, and on every occasion, shewed themselves forward to render the missionaries all the assistance in their power. By his Excellency's recommendation, they separated and took up their residence in different parts of the island. They immediately commenced the study of the languages spoken in Ceylon, the Portuguese, the Tamul, and the Cingalese; and until they were able to speak them, they preached to the natives through the medium of interpreters. In general, they had large and attentive congregations; the

^b Drew's Life of Dr. Coke, p. 315, 344, 380, 383, 385, 387.

readiness of the people to hear was truly surprising; but the propagation of Christianity in Ceylon was attended with many difficulties, some of them of a very extraordinary nature.^c

It is a singular fact, that the Buddhist religion makes no mention of a Supreme Being. The priests, and the more learned of the Cingalese, are absolute atheists. They argue against the existence of a Supreme Creator, and the superintendence of a Divine Providence. To explain the origin of all things, they have recourse to an eternal succession of transmigrations, or to the doctrine of chance. One day, when an aged priest called on the missionaries at Colombo, to converse with them on the subject of religion, Mr. Harvard thought this a favourable opportunity of ascertaining, Whether it was possible for a reasonable being to pass a number of years in the world, without reflecting on the existence of a Supreme Creator. To his inquiries, the old man answered in the most unequivocal manner, that during the sixty years he had lived in the world, the idea of a First Cause, had never, to the best of his recollection, entered his mind until of late. Buddhu is, no doubt, worshipped by the rabble as a deity; but their sacred books represent him merely as a prophet or reformer, something like Mohammed; and incarnated simply to save mankind by the purity of his doctrines. The better informed, reject with disdain the imputation of worshipping Buddhu, and assert that they erect temples to his honour, present flowers to his images, and afford

^c Meth. Mag. vol. xxxviii. p. 150, 357; vol. xxxix. p. 39.
—Miss. Notices, vol. i. p. 20, 25.

maintenance to his priests, merely as an expression of reverence for his memory, and of attachment to the doctrines he taught.^d

With respect to the common people, they were sunk into a kind of mental torpor; they were not accustomed to think on any subject, and least of all upon religion. The ignorance, the apathy, the credulity, the superstition, the fickleness, and the flexibility of the lower orders, were enough to sink the hopes of the most zealous missionary. It was seldom they contradicted any thing: on the contrary, they took all for granted; but then they imagined it did not relate to them, but only to the inhabitants of Europe.^e

In Ceylon, education is little known. With the exception of the Buddhist priests, and the families of the chiefs, few enjoy any thing like mental culture. Many, even of the sacerdotal order, are extremely ignorant, and some are unable to read correctly their own language.^f

Among such a people, the establishment of schools, appeared to the missionaries one of the most promising means of usefulness. This was an object which attracted their attention, immediately on their settlement in the country, and it soon became one of the most prominent parts of their system. In the schools which they established, the children were instructed not only in the ordinary branches of education, but in the principles of Christianity. They employed neither heathen teachers, nor heathen books, as they thought that missionary schools should have a higher object than the communication

^d Miss. Notices, vol. i. p. 149. ^e Ibid. vol. i. p. 133, 151.

^f Rep. Meth. Miss. 1818, p. 111.

merely of secular knowledge ; that unless Christian principles were taught in them, the grand object of them was lost. Notwithstanding their strictness in this respect, the chiefs, and the other inhabitants of different villages, sent petitions to the missionaries requesting them to establish schools among them, and in some instances, offered a piece of land for the erection of schoolhouses, or built them at their own expense. These schools at the same time, served as places of worship in which the missionaries preached in the course of their journies through the country. Many of the scholars were the children of the principal inhabitants, and some came daily a distance of several miles to attend them. In several of the schools, a considerable number of the pupils were the children of Mohammedans, and were taught the principles of our holy religion in the same manner as the other children, without the slightest objection on the part of their parents. There were also some hundred girls, a circumstance which is peculiarly interesting, as in Ceylon, females in general, are excluded from the blessings of education. Only a few years before, there was scarcely any thing to be seen like a place for Christian worship, in the district of country occupied by the missionaries, except here and there a few old churches in ruins, covered with jungle, and almost hid from the eye of the traveller. But now, a person making a journey from Colombo to Galle, for instance, a distance of nearly eighty miles, had his eye continually attracted by the appearance of schoolhouses, or little native churches, which frequently present themselves in the most unexpected manner. Some of them are situated on little

plains; others under the majestic shades of the cocoa-nut topes; some in vallies surrounded by the most beautiful scenery; others on the summit of hills, commanding a romantic view of the varied landscape below. In the schools, the progress of the children was most pleasing, both as to the acquisition of the ordinary branches of education, and the knowledge of the principles of Christianity.^h

Besides establishing schools for the instruction of the young, the missionaries laboured with singular zeal and diligence in preaching the gospel to all classes of the inhabitants; and though they were not successful in converting many of the natives; yet a spirit of inquiry was excited among them; knowledge was extensively disseminated; and the seed sown, will, we trust, ultimately produce a rich and abundant harvest. Even already, a number of the Cingalese, particularly of those educated in the schools, have embraced Christianity. Several of the Buddhist priests, two of them men of considerable talents and learning, renounced the faith of their ancestors, and embraced the religion of Christ; and two others, who came to England, were baptized in this country. Besides these, there were a number of individuals among the English and the Dutch, who, through the instrumentality of the missionaries, were brought under serious impressions of religion, and appeared to experience a change of heart. It is worthy of notice, that from none did the missionaries experience so much opposition as from the Roman Catholic priests, who not only endeavoured to frighten the people from hearing them;

^h Rep. Meth. Miss. 1818, p. 7, 21.—Ibid. 1820, p. 30.

but even sought to destroy the schools which they had established for the education of the young.ⁱ

In 1822, the Methodists had established no fewer than fifteen stations in Ceylon, at which the number in Society, and the children in the schools, were as follows :

Stations.	Numbers in Society.	Schools.	Children.
Colombo and Colpetty,	81	8	510
Caltura and Bentote,	37	6	329
Galle and Amlangoddy,	8	11	562
Matura and Belligam,	38	9	498
Negombo and Chilauw,	72	11	486
Jaffnapatam and Point Pedro,	19	10	510
Trincomalee,	12	3	215
Baticaloe,	11	4	136
Kornegalle,	—	—	—
Total,	278	62	3,246 ^k

In Colombo, the capital of the island, the missionaries possessed a fine establishment, consisting of a chapel, a dwelling house, school rooms, a printing office, and a type foundery. Besides school books, catechisms, tracts, and other small pieces in the English, Portuguese, Tamul, and Cingalese languages, they printed an edition of the Cingalese New Testament, for the Colombo Bible Society. In translating the scriptures into the Cingalese language, they also assisted, and they prepared a

ⁱ Meth. Mag. vol. xxxviii. p. 358; vol. xl. p. 362, 401; vol. xli. p. 233.—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1816, p. 12.—Ibid. 1818, p. 11.—Miss. Notices, vol. i. p. 182, vol. ii. p. 242, 251, 260, 306, 358.

^k Rep. Meth. Miss. 1822, p. 17, 18.

version of the New Testament, in that corrupt dialect of Portuguese which is spoken in Ceylon. They were also preparing for publication, Dictionaries, both of the Cingalese and the Portuguese languages, and other useful works. This, in short, promises to be one of the most important and useful missions which have yet been established in the heathen world. Nothing can surpass the energy, and enterprise, and activity of the Methodist missionaries on this island: they appear to be animated with a sleepless zeal for the glory of God, and the salvation of souls. ¹

SECTION III.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS.

WE shall not proceed further with the history of the Methodist missions in detail, as in most of the others which they established, there occurs nothing peculiarly interesting or characteristic: we should only have to relate circumstances similar to those we have already stated, or which we shall afterwards have occasion to relate in recording the operations of other denominations of Christians who had previously occupied the same fields of labour. But though, from the accounts we have given, some idea may be formed of the nature of the Methodist missions, little idea can be formed of their extent. For near thirty years, their labours were chiefly confined to the negroes in the West Indies; but since the

¹ Miss. Notices, vol. i. p. 81, 181.—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1817, p. 16.—Ibid. 1818, p. 12.—Ibid. 1819, p. 15.

establishment of the mission in Ceylon, a new and mighty impulse has been given to their exertions; and with all that zeal, and energy, and activity, which are so eminently characteristic of them as a body, they have not only augmented the number of labourers in the fields which they previously occupied, but have sent forth missionaries to most of the other quarters of the globe.

In the WEST INDIES, the Methodists have sent missionaries to Nevis, to Grenada, to St. Bartholomew, to St. Thomas, to Trinidad, to Tobago, to Anguilla, to St. Martin's, and to Montserrat:

In SOUTH AMERICA, to the colony of Demerara:

In WESTERN AFRICA, to St. Mary's, on the River Gambia, and to Sierra Leone:

In SOUTH AFRICA, to Capetown, to Kamiesberg in Little Namaqualand, to the village Gammapp in Great Namaqualand, to Salem in the district of Albany, and to the Boschuanan country:

In the EAST INDIES, to Madras, to Bangalore, to Negapatnam, and to Bombay:

In AUSTRALASIA, to the aboriginal inhabitants of New South Wales:

In POLYNESIA, to New Zealand.

Most of these are new missions, which have been undertaken within these few years; and, in fact, the Methodist body are now so completely imbued with a missionary spirit, that every returning year promises to furnish fresh proofs of their zeal and activity in extending the Redeemer's kingdom among the Heathen.

In 1822, the Methodist Societies in different parts of the heathen world, consisted of the following members :

Begun.	Stations.	Whites.	Blacks & Coloured People.	Total.
	WEST INDIES.			
1786	Antigua,	40	4,205	4,245
1787	St. Vincent's,	21	2,889	2,910
1787	St. Christopher's,	42	2,261	2,303
1787	St. Eustatius,	8	219	227
1788	Barbadoes,	17	29	46
1788	Dominica,	9	433	442
1789	Nevis,	27	1,023	1,050
1789	Tortola,	41	1,959	2,000
	Jamaica,	33	7,643	7,676
1793	Grenada,	9	319	328
1797	St. Bartholomew,	11	314	325
1799	Bermuda,	59	47	106
1800	Bahama Islands,	525	598	1,123
1809	Trinidad,	4	115	119
1816	St. Domingo,		56	56
	Anguilla,	7	213	220
	St. Martin's,	14	103	117
1818	Tobago,	1	48	49
1820	Montserrat,	2	33	35
	SOUTH AMERICA.			
1815	Demerara,	10	1,312	1,322
	AFRICA.			
1811	Sierra Leone,			226
	Namaqua Land,			67
1815	Cape Town,			20
	EAST INDIES.			
1813	Ceylon,			278
1817	Madras,			147
1820	Negapatnam,			14
	Total,	880	23,819	25,451^a

The whole of the members of the Methodist Societies were baptized; and it was supposed that two-thirds of them, at least in the principal places,

^a Minutes of Conference, 1822, p. 45.

were communicants. * They had all agreed to submit to the discipline of the Methodists, professed a desire to flee from the wrath to come, and engaged to “live soberly, righteously, and godly in the world.”^b

Besides the missions connected with the Conference in England, the Methodists in America established others, or at least, they laboured with great success among the negroes, and people of colour in that quarter of the globe. Previous to the war which terminated in the establishment of the independence of the United States, several members of the Methodist body emigrated from England and Ireland, to that country; and as the exertions which some of them made to extend the gospel, were attended with considerable success, several preachers were sent across the Atlantic to carry on the work they had begun. Among their hearers, were a number of blacks and people of colour, many of whom appeared to be impressed with religion. During the war, the progress of the Methodists was materially retarded; but after its close,

^b Watson's Defence, p. 64, 71.—Meth. Mag. vol. xxviii. p. 234.

* In comparing the numbers in the Methodist Societies, with the baptized in other missions, we ought to make a considerable addition to the former, on account of the children of the converts, who do not appear to be included in the list of their members. In the first edition of this work, the author stated, that few of the members of the Methodist Societies were baptized, or admitted to the Lord's Supper. For the correction of this mistake, as well as for other very valuable information, he is indebted to Mr. Watson's admirable Defence of the Methodist Missions.

they made vast numbers of proselytes, among whom were many of the negro race. ^c

In 1813, the number of blacks and people of colour, connected with the several Methodist Conferences in the United States of America, was as follows :

South Carolina Conference, ...	13,771
Philadelphia do. ...	10,884
Baltimore do. ...	7,990
Virginia do. ...	6,334
Tennessee do. ...	2,066
New York do. ...	1,121
Ohio do. ...	561
New England, ...	92
Genessee do. ...	40
	42,859 ^d

It is not unworthy of notice, that the negroes and people of colour in the Methodist Societies in the United States of America, have increased with astonishing rapidity, as appears from the following statement of their numbers at different periods :

1789, ...	8,244
1804, ...	23,531
1821, ...	42,059 ^e

Of late, the Methodists in the United States, have established a Society, under the name of The Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal

^c Drew's Life of Dr. Coke, p. 46, 49, 51, 53.

^d Meth. Mag. vol. xxxvii. p. 156.

^e Coke's Journals, p. 114.—Meth. Mag. vol. xxviii. p. 47.—Minutes of Conference, 1822, p. 49.

Church. The Ohio Conference sent a missionary among the Wyandot Indians, in Upper Sandusky; and the South Carolina Conference, has appointed two missionaries to the Creeks.^f

Besides the negroes and people of colour, who are members of the Methodist Societies in the West Indies and America, and other parts of the world, it is proper to remark, that there are still greater numbers, who, though not in connexion with them, attend upon their worship, and enjoy the benefit of their instructions. In the West India islands alone, their regular congregations were estimated a few years ago, at not less than a hundred and twenty thousand persons, most of whom would otherwise have been totally destitute of the means of religious instruction.^g

In comparing the numbers in the Methodist Societies in successive years, nothing is more striking, than the frequent and sudden variations which take place in the amount of their members. In the West India islands, it is not uncommon for them to rise or fall, by several hundreds in a year. In 1813, the Society in St. Christopher's, consisted of 2,162 members; in 1814, it had increased to 3,024. In 1816, it still amounted to about 3,000; but in 1818, it had decreased to 2,209. The instability of the Methodist Societies, is often even much greater than appears, from comparing the amount of their members in successive years, as the number who leave them, is in many instances, made up by those who join them, so that though the fluctuation has been considerable,

^f Miss. Not. vol. iii. p. 232, 298.

^g Miss. Reg. vol. iii. p. 132.

there may be no great variation in the amount of the whole. In 1812, for instance, the members of the Methodist Society in Antigua, amounted to 2,288, and in 1813, to 2,402. Here there is no symptom of unsteadiness; yet there had been excluded in the course of the year, no fewer than 471, or about one fifth of the whole society. The instability, however, of so many of the members, makes no appearance in the annual return, as there was an addition of nearly six hundred others, which not only made up the deficiency, but shewed, on the whole, a moderate increase.ⁿ

We apprehend that the Methodists consider persons as converted on quite too slender evidence; that they do not duly distinguish between the natural workings of the human mind, and the operations of the Holy Spirit; that they place too much reliance on feelings, emotions, and impressions; and that the confidence which they have, of the pardon of their sins, and of their acceptance with God, from what they consider as the direct witness of the Spirit, must, in many instances, be attended with very pernicious consequences, and prove a fruitful source of self-delusion.* We acknowledge,

ⁿ Minutes of Conference, vol. iii. p. 387.—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1816, p. 23.—Ibid. 1818, p. 36.—Meth. Mag. vol. xxxvi. p. 396.

* We cannot but deeply regret, that a body of Christians so distinguished for zeal, and energy, and activity, should be chargeable with faults, which must, in so considerable a degree, diminish the utility of their labours; that where there is so much gold, there should also be so much alloy.

From the place which the Methodists assign to feelings, emotions, and impressions in religion, we fear that many of them are in no small danger of self-delusion, by substituting

we do wonder, that after the many disappointments they have experienced, not only as to individuals; but, in some cases, with respect almost to whole societies, they should speak with so much confidence of the conversion of such as attach themselves to them, and that, without any adequate trial. When we consider how many of their members apostatize, even in the most favourable circumstances, and how often, nearly whole societies have been dissolved on being left without a missionary, or on the rising of persecution, it would appear to us, that multitudes of those whom they reckon converts, are nothing more than stony ground hearers, who, agreeably to the description of our Redeemer, “when they have heard the word, immediately receive it with gladness; and have no root in them-

the operations of their own imagination and affections, in the room of the regeneration of the heart, and the sanctification of the life; of scriptural knowledge, christian experience, and practical piety. But as a knowledge of our defects is one important step toward their correction, we are happy to see that the Conference is not altogether insensible to some of the characteristic faults of the body, as appears by the following extract from the Minutes of the year 1800:

“Q. Do we sufficiently explain and enforce practical religion, and attend to the preservation of order and regularity in our meetings for prayer, and other acts of divine worship?”

“A. Perhaps not. We fear there has sometimes been irregularity in some of the meetings. And we think that some of our hearers are in danger of mistaking EMOTIONS OF THE AFFECTIONS, for experimental and practical godliness. To remedy or prevent, as far as possible, these errors, let Mr. Wesley’s Extract of Mr. Edwards’ pamphlet on Religious Affections, be printed without delay, and circulated among our people.”
Minutes of Conference, vol. ii. p. 56.

selves, and so endure but for a time: and afterward when affliction or persecution ariseth for the word's sake, immediately they are offended." We have no doubt that the Methodists have been the instruments of very extensive good, in the heathen, as well as in the christian world; but yet the instability of so many of their converts, combined with their inadequate views of the nature and evidences of conversion, and of the operations of the Holy Spirit, renders it extremely difficult to form a correct estimate of the extent of their usefulness, and makes us receive, with considerable abatement, their statements of the spiritual good, of which they have been the instruments.

In the West Indies, the labours of the Methodists have had a powerful effect in improving the morals, the habits, and the health of the negroes; in rendering them sober, faithful, peaceable, cleanly, industrious and economical; in increasing their comforts and diminishing their punishments. All the members of their societies, so far as is known, fulfil, with propriety, the relative duties of life; or, if any of them transgress the ordinary rules of morality, they are excluded from the Connexion, at least after neglecting due reproof. They have all abandoned the practice of polygamy, the besetting sin of the negroes; and the fatal influence of obeah or witchcraft, which is often productive of most terrible mischief among the slaves, is effectually destroyed wherever Christianity prevails. As a proof of the general good conduct of the converts, it is not unworthy of notice, that when an office which requires trust and confidence becomes vacant, such as that of watchman, it is a usual practice with the plan-

ters and managers, to inquire for a religious negro to fill it.ⁱ

It is a great disadvantage to the negroes, that the Lord's day is the season assigned them by their masters, to cultivate the grounds allowed them in lieu of provisions, and that the regular market throughout the West Indies is on that sacred day, when the chief towns exhibit all the noise and bustle of petty commerce. After breakfast, a driver with an overseer accompanies the slaves to the negro fields, where they spend the Sabbath toiling all day under a burning sun. On the following Lord's day, they go to market to sell the produce of their grounds, and to purchase such articles as are not allowed them by their masters; and they close the day in drinking, dancing and debauchery. Such is a Sabbath in the West Indies. The Christian slaves have to perform the same work as others, when their masters do not allow them the Saturday for that purpose. They come to market in the forenoon, and go from thence to the chapel. It is no uncommon thing to see the chapel yard covered with baskets, whilst their owners are attending divine worship. The missionaries did not, however, as was insinuated, excite complaints among the slaves on this subject. They were no doubt grieved at the profanation of the Sabbath, and the beneficial effects of their labours were materially counteracted by it; but they accommodated themselves to the circumstances of the slaves, seized upon the broken fragments of their time, and made the best improvement of them they

ⁱ Watson's Defence, p. 132.—Meth. Mag. vol. xxvii. p. 377.—Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 286.—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1819, p. 45.

were able. Britain may well blush when it is known that in the colonies of Catholic states, the Saturday, not the Sunday, is allowed the slaves to work their grounds and to supply their wants ; that the Sabbath is there a day of rest and of worship ; and that the numerous saints' days in the Romish Calendar, afford them in the course of the year a further amelioration of their labours, and additional opportunities of attending to religion. ^k

There is in general no such thing as marriage, in the common sense of the word, among the slaves in the West Indies. They herd together like the beasts of the field, without any ceremony. Some live together many years ; others soon part, and each chooses a new mate. Promiscuous intercourse, indeed, is extremely common ; and the planters themselves when they made the attempt, found themselves utterly unable to check it. Marriage, however, was uniformly introduced by the Methodist missionaries among the converts ; but with respect to this they had many difficulties to encounter. They were frequently at a loss to determine which was the proper husband or wife. A female, for instance, wished to become a member of the society ; but the man with whom she then cohabited, was not the first to whom she had been united. She had lived with many others, and the person with whom she was originally connected, had, in like manner, had many more women since he left her ; and perhaps was living at that time with one by whom he had several children. Sometimes the missionaries were content with an engagement on the part of the

^k Watson's Defence, p. 55, 60.

woman, that she would abide with the man with whom she lived when she joined the society; at other times they acted to the best of their judgment, in selecting the person whom they thought most proper.^{1*}

¹ Watson's Defence, p. 29.

* We have great pleasure in being able to mention a late decision of the government of the mother country on this important subject. It had been long a prevailing notion that slaves were incapable of contracting marriage, or, at least, without the consent of their masters, a circumstance which contributed materially to the prevalence of polygamy and promiscuous intercourse, throughout the whole of the islands. A clergyman in Nevis conceiving slaves competent to marry, ventured to publish the banns of matrimony between two, in the parish church. The marriage was interdicted by the authorities of the island, and the clergyman appealed to the bishop of London. His Majesty's ministers being consulted, the law officers of the crown gave it as their opinion, "That the ecclesiastical law had always held that slaves were competent to marry, without any reference to the authority of their masters." This important decision was transmitted by his Majesty's government to the colonies, and will, we trust, have a salutary effect in encouraging marriages among the slaves. Rep. Meth. Miss. 1818, p. 34.

Among the many evils which result from the disregard by the White people of the marriage ties between their slaves, is the cruel practice of the frequent separation, by sale to different individuals, and sometimes to different islands, of husband and wife, parents and children. Many a tender scene has this produced; but one more heart-rending than the following, it is not easy to conceive. "A master of slaves," says Mr. Gilgrass, who was for sometime a missionary in Jamaica, "who lived near us in Kingston, exercised his barbarities on a Sabbath morning, while we were worshipping God in the chapel, and the cries of the female sufferers frequently interrupted us in our devotions. This man wanted money, and one of the female slaves having two fine children, he sold one of them, and the child was torn from her maternal affection. In the agony of her feelings she made a hideous howling; and for

Though the missionaries in the West Indies, were accustomed to catechise and instruct in the principles of religion, the children of the members of their congregations, yet until of late years they scarcely attempted the establishment of schools, for teaching the rising generation to read, as the prejudices of the White people against schools, were even stronger than against preaching. Such prejudices, however, have in some of the islands subsided in a considerable degree, and the Methodists, have accordingly proceeded to establish schools for the education of the young. Wretched, indeed, must that system be, which derives its chief support from the shadows with which it is surrounded, and the existence of which, depends on the exclusion of light.^m

In 1822, the number of Scholars in the schools of the Methodist missionaries, was as follows :

^m Watson's Defence, p. 140.—Miss. Notices, vol. i. p. 23, 67, 122, 164, 194, 210, 224, 241, 257. Rep. Meth. Miss. 1816, p. 44.

ⁿ Rep. Meth. Miss. 1822, p. 80.

that crime was flogged. Soon after he sold her other child. This 'turned her heart within her,' and drove her to a kind of madness. She howled night and day in the yard, tore her hair, ran up and down the streets and the parade, rending the heavens with her cries, and literally watering the earth with her tears. Her constant cry was, 'Da wicked Massa Jew, he sell me children. Will no Buckra Massa pity Nega? What me do? Me no have one child.' As she stood before my window she said, 'My Massa,' (lifting up her hands to heaven,) 'do me, Massa minister, pity me! me heart do so,' (shaking herself violently) 'me heart do so, because me have no child. Me go a Massa house, in Massa yard, and in me hut, and me no see em:' and then her cry went up to God. I durst not be seen looking at her." *Watson's Defence*, p. 25.

	Schools.	Scholars.		Schools.	Scholars.
Antigua,	4	1,000	Brought forward,	25	3,366
St. Kitts,	4	632	St. Vincent's, ...	3	176
Bahama Islands,	7	531	St. Eustatius, ...	1	160
Grenada,	2	350	Barbadoes,	1	130
Tortola,	2	244	Trinidad,	1	117
Montserrat,	1	221	Demerara,	1	105
Nevis,	3	199	St. Martin's,	1	108
Dominica,	2	189	Tobago,	1	50
	25	3,366		34	4,212

Though we are far from agreeing with the Methodists, on some points of Christian doctrine, yet we apprehend, they are by no means so unscriptural in their views, as many pious people suppose. With a mixture of what we conceive to be error, they unquestionably hold, the grand fundamental principles of Christianity; those principles which in the hand of the Holy Spirit, are the chief instrument, of the conversion of sinners, and the sanctification of Christians. To candid minds, the following statement, by the Committee for the management of the Methodist missions, will, we doubt not, prove on the whole very satisfactory.

“ The leading doctrines taught by all our missionaries are the following: The eternal existence of God, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; the total ignorance, sinfulness, misery, and helplessness of man, the necessity of remission of sins, and of a complete renewal of the heart in knowledge, righteousness, and true holiness, after the image of him that created us; the infinite mercy and grace of God, as the only source of man's redemption; and the atonement made by Jesus Christ for the sins of the whole

world. They constantly affirm, that the mediatorial work of Christ is the sole meritorious cause of salvation; that whatever subordinate means may be employed, the Holy Spirit is the grand and proper agent of the work of grace in the heart; that repentance towards God, and faith towards our Lord Jesus Christ, are necessary to the sinner's actual participation of pardon and eternal life; and that believers must persevere in holiness to the end of their days, in order that their labour may not be in vain in the Lord." °

By their enemies, both in England and in the colonies, the Methodist missionaries were industriously represented, as endangering the safety of the White inhabitants of the West India Islands, and as exciting the negroes to disaffection and revolt, by the seditious doctrines which they taught them: They were considered not only as strongly inimical to slavery; but as furnishing the friends of the abolition of the slave trade, with such information as led to the adoption of measures, which the planters deemed highly prejudicial to their interests. Nothing however, can be more false and calumnious, than these charges. The missionaries were connected with no political party whatever, not even with those distinguished philanthropists, whose exertions for the amelioration of the state of Africa, and the condition of her children, have crowned their names with imperishable honours. They had no political object in view: their work was purely of a religious nature, to instruct the ignorant, to reclaim the vicious, to save immortal souls from everlasting woe.

° Meth. Mag. vol. xxviii. p. 235.

Before leaving their native country, they were particularly cautioned not to meddle with political matters or secular disputes ; nor to interfere in the civil relations of master and slave, except by enforcing the precept of Christianity on this point, " Servants, obey in all things your masters according to the flesh." They were directed to conform to the regulations, and even to the prejudices of the White people, as far as was consistent with a good conscience, and with the great business of instructing the negroes. So cautious, indeed, were some of the missionaries in this respect, that they even avoided quoting particular passages of the Word of God, lest the White people should take occasion from them to represent their sermons, as of an inflammatory nature. During the whole of his residence in the West Indies, Mr. Bradnack, for instance, never once used the words of our Lord, " If the Son make you free, ye shall be free indeed," lest a bad construction should be put upon them. ^p

But though we have given many deplorable instances of the hostility of the White inhabitants of the West Indies, to the labours of the Methodists, it would be an act of gross injustice, both to the planters and to the missionaries, did we neglect to mention, that such feelings were by no means universal. In some of the colonies, there were not only no persecuting laws enacted against them ; but they were greatly encouraged, both by the local government, and by the proprietors of slaves. Even in those islands where they experienced persecution, they

^p Watson's Defence, p. 103, 109, 112, 152.—Rep. Meth. Missions, 1816, p. 18.—Ibid. 1820, p. 108.

had many friends among the planters, and others of the White inhabitants. Some built chapels on their estates : others subscribed handsomely to their erection in the neighbourhood. There is scarcely a place of worship, of any magnitude, in the West Indies, in the building of which the gentlemen of the island did not assist by their contributions, or in some other form. Subscriptions of ten, twenty, fifty, and a hundred pounds, for such purposes, indicate both the rank in life, and the sentiments of the contributors. Even in Jamaica, where the dark and dangerous fanaticism of the Methodists was detected with more than ordinary sagacity, the most liberal assistance was afforded. In other islands, planters, merchants, members of colonial assemblies, presidents, chief judges, governors, not only subscribed to the erection of chapels, but in some instances paid regular stipends to the missionaries, as a remuneration for their services in instructing their slaves. In several of the islands, indeed, the proprietors of estates, and the other inhabitants, were so fully satisfied with the conduct of the missionaries, and so sensible of the political as well as moral and religious advantages resulting from their labours, that they entirely supported the ordinary expenses of the missions. Such views we are happy to add, are greatly extending among the West India planters : in most of the colonies the labours of the Methodist missionaries are beginning to be generally appreciated,^a and we trust that at no distant period, the unfounded prejudices which have been excited

^a Watson's Defence, p. 74, 124.—Coke's History, vol. ii. p. 286.—Rep. Meth. Miss. 1820, p. 68. Ibid. 1821, p. 80.

against them will completely vanish, and that, as is now the case with the Moravians, who, as we have already stated, were once the objects of persecution in the West Indies, it will be considered as a strange and unaccountable fact, that any hostility should ever have been manifested to so excellent, so laborious, so useful a body of men.

CHAPTER EIGHTH.**PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE BAPTIST
MISSIONARY SOCIETY.****EAST INDIES.**

IN October 1792, a few Baptist ministers assembled at Kettering in Northamptonshire, united in instituting a Society for Propagating the Gospel amongst the Heathen. They, at the same time, opened a subscription for this important purpose; but the whole sum contributed on that occasion, amounted only to thirteen pounds two shillings and sixpence. As soon, however, as the object of the Society was known, they met with further encouragement and support, not only from the members of their own communion, but from Christians of other denominations.^a

About the same time, Mr. John Thomas, who, of late years, had made some attempts for the propagation of Christianity in Bengal, was in London, endeavouring to establish a fund for sending missionaries to that country, and was himself anxious to obtain a suitable companion to return with

^a Periodical Accounts relative to the Baptist Missionary Society, vol. i. p. 3, 48.

him. He had first sailed to Bengal in 1783, as surgeon of the Oxford East Indiaman, and immediately on his arrival, he tried to set on foot some plan for the spread of the gospel in that benighted region. He failed, however, in the attempt at that time; and having returned with the ship to England, he was baptized in London, and began to exhort in private societies, and to preach in different parts of the country. In 1786, he made a second voyage to Bengal, as surgeon of the same vessel, and on his arrival, he met with a few pious people, with whom he agreed to hold a meeting for prayer, and afterwards he preached to them every Sabbath evening. Among the number of these Christian friends, was Charles Grant, Esq. a gentleman who, since that period, has risen to some of the most important and honourable offices in the service of the East India Company, both at home and abroad. Pleased with the labours of Mr. Thomas in their private meetings, this excellent man expressed a wish that he would remain in the country, learn the language, and preach the gospel to the natives. Nothing, however, could be more foreign from Mr. Thomas's own views. Anxious as he was for the evangelizing of the Hindoos, he had himself no particular inclination to the work; he disliked the climate, and dreaded a longer separation from his family, and thought there was no probability of the captain's giving him leave to stay in the country, or of another surgeon being found to supply his place. But though he at first had no idea of acceding to the proposal, it continued to haunt his mind, and to excite his serious consideration. Being a man of exquisite sensibility, as well as ardent piety, his

heart was melted with the view of the ignorance, superstition, and misery of the Hindoos; and notwithstanding the difficulties of the undertaking, he at length resolved to remain in the country, and to preach among them, “the unsearchable riches of Christ.” With this view he began in 1787 to learn the Bengalee language, and after sometime he was able to preach in it so as to be understood by the people. He also translated into it, with the assistance of one of the natives, the gospels of Matthew and Mark, the Epistle of James, some part of Genesis, several of the Psalms, and different portions of the prophecies, a few copies of which he circulated in manuscript among them. By these means a considerable stir was excited among the Hindoos. Several of them not only acquired considerable knowledge of the gospel, but appeared to be concerned for their souls; and there were two or three who he hoped were sincere converts to Christianity, though they had not yet been baptized, nor relinquished their cast. Mr. Thomas laboured among them till the beginning of 1792, when he left the country and returned to England. ^b

Encouraged by these auspicious circumstances, the Baptist Missionary Society invited Mr. Thomas to return to Bengal under their patronage, and engaged, at the same time, to endeavour to find him a suitable colleague. Such a man was not long wanting. The Rev. William Carey of Leicester, who had a principal share in the institution of the Society, had, ever since his entrance on the ministry,

^b Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 7, 14.—Rippon's Baptist Register, vol. ii. p. 145.

if not even from an earlier period, contemplated, with deep commiseration, the melancholy state of the Pagan world. His conversation, his prayers, and his sermons, usually contained something relative to this interesting subject; and he had lately advocated the cause of missions, with no small zeal, in a work entitled, "An Enquiry into the obligations of Christians to use means for the conversion of the Heathen." He possessed, at the same time, an ardent thirst for geographical knowledge, and a singular facility in the acquisition of languages; so that for several years his most intimate friends had been induced to think he was designed by Providence for some great and important undertaking. On him, therefore, the Committee now fixed their eyes; and no sooner was he asked to go as a missionary to Bengal, than he cheerfully acquiesced in the proposal. Mr. Thomas arrived late in the evening, while they were deliberating with respect to their future operations. Impatient to behold his colleague, he entered the room in haste, and Mr. Carey rising at the same moment from his seat, they fell on each others' necks and wept.^c

In June 1793, the two missionaries, embarked on board the *Princess Maria*, a Danish East India-man, and after a voyage of about six months, they landed safe in Bengal. On their arrival, Mr. Carey, as is usual with strangers, conceived a very favourable idea of the character and manners of the natives. He was delighted to see them appear so gentle, soft,

^c Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 1, 34. Brief Narrative of the Baptist Mission in India, 2d edit. p. 5. Morris' Memoir of the Rev. A. Fuller, p. 101.

and peaceful in their dispositions, and especially so inquisitive and attentive in hearing the gospel; but a little experience soon corrected these early impressions, and convinced him they were a base, cruel, avaricious, deceitful race of men. The few individuals of whose conversion Mr. Thomas had entertained sanguine hopes, disappointed their expectations, none of them ever coming forward to make a public profession of the Christian faith.^d

As it was agreed before the missionaries left England, that the society should support them and their families until they were able to provide for themselves, Mr. Thomas took up his residence in Calcutta, in the hope of maintaining himself by his practice as a surgeon, while his colleague proceeded into the country, with the view of cultivating some land for his support. Both of them, however, had no small trials to endure at the commencement of their labours. Besides suffering much from the illness of himself and his family, Mr. Carey was, for the first three or four months, reduced to the greatest straits of a pecuniary nature. Owing to a variety of circumstances, which he could neither foresee nor prevent, the investment of money which was taken out for his immediate support was sunk, so that he and his family were left in a foreign land, entirely destitute of the means of subsistence. These painful occurrences, together with a view of the moral degradation of the Hindoos, and the irreligion of the Europeans, often preyed upon his spirits, and almost overwhelmed him in despair. "When I left England," says he, "my hopes of the

^d Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 45, 64, 79, 138.

conversion of the Heathen were very strong; but amidst so many obstacles, they would utterly languish and die, were they not upheld by God. I seem cast out of the Christian world, and am yet unable to speak with any advantage to the Heathen. I am still at a distance from my colleague, and have no Christian friend to stir me up, and encourage me in the ways of God. I am sometimes disheartened, not only by the superstitions of the Hindoos, but by the infidelity of Europeans, who all tell me the conversion of the natives is impossible. In England, I should not be discouraged by the representations of unbelievers, but here I have no faithful brother to sympathize with me, nor am I yet able to make the experiment by preaching the gospel. All my hope is in God; all my comfort arises from him. Though the superstitions of the natives were a thousand times stronger than they are, and the examples of Europeans a thousand times worse; though I were deserted by all, and persecuted by all; yet my hope, fixed on that rock, would rise superior to every obstruction, and triumph over every trial. I feel happy in this, that I am engaged in the work of God; and the more I am employed in it, the more I feel it a rich reward. Indeed, I would rejoice in having undertaken it, even though I should perish in the attempt. What is there in the whole creation worth living for, but the presence and the service of God? I feel a burning desire, that all the world may know this God and serve him.”^e

Early in 1794, Messrs. Thomas and Carey were

^e Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 89, 301, 122, 184, 175, 172, 164, 171. Brief Narrative, p. 15.

invited by Mr. Udny, a gentleman, who afterwards held some of the most important offices in the India government, to superintend two Indigo manufactories, which he was establishing in the neighbourhood of Malda. As this proposal not only opened to them the prospect of an ample supply of their pecuniary wants, but presented them with an extensive field of usefulness, affording each of them influence over upwards of a thousand people, and furnishing suitable employment for any of them who might lose cast for the sake of the gospel, they both accepted it without hesitation. Mr. Carey accordingly took up his residence at Mudnabatty, a place about thirty miles beyond Malda, and Mr. Thomas at Moypauldiggy, sixteen miles further north.^f

Being now settled in these two villages, they had each an opportunity of addressing not only the workmen under their inspection, but many others of the natives, who came from different parts of the country to hear them; and as soon as they were able, they erected schools in their respective factories; but the extreme ignorance and poverty of the natives made them take away their children on every slight occasion, and at length it even became necessary to pay something to the scholars, in order to induce them to attend. Besides statedly labouring in the two villages where they resided, they made frequent excursions through the neighbouring country, for the purpose of instructing the inhabitants. “I have a district,” says Mr. Carey, “of about twenty miles square, where I am continually going from place to place to publish the gospel, and

^f Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 85, 89.

in this space are about two hundred villages. My manner of travelling is with two small boats, one of which serves me to lodge in, the other for cooking my victuals. All my furniture, as well as my food, I carry with me from place to place, namely, a chair, a table, a bed, and a lamp. I walk from village to village, but repair to my boat for lodging and victuals. There are several rivers in this quarter of the country, which renders it very convenient for travelling.”^s

But though the missionaries laboured among the Hindoos with indefatigable zeal, no success for several years crowned their exertions; a circumstance which could scarcely fail to prove a powerful discouragement to them. The difficulties attending the conversion of the natives, were greater, perhaps, than they or their friends had ever calculated; and though no doubt could remain of the power of God to subdue their ignorance and obduracy; yet for the present, it pleased him to put the faith and patience of his servants to a severe trial. It may not be improper in this place to take a view of some of the political and moral obstructions which impede the progress of Christianity in India, exclusive of those natural and more powerful obstacles which exist in every country and in every heart.

The first obstruction which naturally strikes the most superficial observer, is the division of the people into casts. The Hindoos, as is well known, are divided into four casts or tribes: the Brahmin, the Ketra, the Bice, and the Soodra; each of which

^s Brief Narrative, p. 20. Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 124, 233, 373.

is again subdivided into a number of different branches. None of these can ever quit his own cast, or be admitted into another. The station of every individual is unalterably fixed; his destiny is irrevocable. The members of each tribe must adhere invariably to the profession of their ancestors, and continue from generation to generation to pursue the same course of life. In consequence of this unnatural distinction of casts, all motives to exertion, inquiry and improvement, are completely extinguished among the Hindoos; for the most honourable actions, the most beneficial discoveries, the most virtuous conduct, secure no respect or advantage to a person of inferior cast; and, on the other hand, indolence, ignorance and vice reflect no disgrace on one of high cast. Hence they display a stupid contentment with their present condition, and an utter unconcern about the enlargement of their understandings, and the amelioration of their heart. Careless and indifferent, they plod on in the path of their ancestors; and even truths in philosophy, geography, astronomy, or any other science, if out of the beaten track of antiquity, make no more impression on their minds than the sublimer principles of religion. They consider the different casts to be distinct species of animals; and imagine, that it is as possible for them to become some other kind of animal as to become Christians; and that the different forms of worship and habits of life observed by particular casts, are no less necessary to them than eating grass is to an ox, or flesh to a tyger. The most trifling incidents, however, occasion the loss of cast, as eating, drinking, or smoking with a person of a different tribe or nation. They may,

indeed, eat the food of another cast, if no water has touched it. Thus a Brahmin may purchase rice of a Soodra, or even of a Mussulman; but none except one of his own order may cook it for him. A Hindoo may smoke the tobacco which a Mussulman has just been using; but he must take off part of the Hooka which contains the tobacco, and must not smoke through the same water. The loss of cast, indeed, is attended with the most dreadful consequences. No one will eat, drink, or smoke with such a person; no one will marry into his family; his wife, his children, his friends disown him; and are often material sufferers by what he has done, sometimes even losing cast themselves in consequence of it; and thus he ruins them as well as himself. Nor can cast, if once completely lost, ever be recovered. Mr. Carey knew a man who had forfeited cast, through a woman in the family being obliged to live with a Mussulman; and though he offered a lack of rupees, or about ten thousand pounds, to have it restored, it was of no avail. Others have been known to put a period to their lives, unable to endure the disgrace into which they had fallen. Besides, such is the influence of example, that the Mussulmen are as attentive to their imaginary cast as the Hindoos are to theirs; and thus the same obstacle operates with them.ⁿ *

ⁿ Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 481, 137, 235.—Ward's Letters, p. 146.

* "Among the higher casts there are particular persons and families to whom all the knotty cases concerning the breach of the rules of the cast are referred, and their decision is final. Among the rajpoots, voidyas, and kayusthas, the cast is left for its preservation to the pride of these orders, and to the

Besides this unnatural division of casts, the system of superstition which the Hindoos have imbibed from their infancy, hath extinguished the light of nature in their breasts, and completely debauched their hearts. They are fond of the idea, that man is merely a machine, and, consequently, not

operation of the terrors by which it is guarded. But among almost all the other divisions of Sudras, a class of men are found at the head of the cast, called puramaniks. These persons have been found connected with the cast among the Sudras, from time immemorial, and the office is hereditary in particular families. If, however, a puramanik family become extinct, the persons over whom the last in office presided, choose a successor, generally from among the more distant relations of the deceased. All the Sudras in one village, have not, however, one puramanik; the office is connected with those divisions of cast which arise out of the trade of individuals; hence, the blacksmiths of eight or ten villages, have one puramanik, and the joiners, weavers, goldsmiths, &c. have their puramanik in the same manner."

Of the power of these puramaniks, we have a striking illustration in the authority which they exercise in cases of marriage. "When parents wish to contract for the marriage of their child, the puramanik is consulted, and his commands solicited in reference to the family with which the alliance is proposed to be formed, and he is present when the articles of union are written and signed. The father of the boy, writes an acknowledgment to the father of the girl, engaging that the boy and the girl, shall at a proper time be married; and at the close of the arrangement, this act is said to be done with the concurrence of the puramanik, who receives as his fee, one or two rupees. Sometimes he forbids the contract out of mere caprice, or because he has a private quarrel with one of the parties: and his concurrence must be purchased by bribes. The parties have no remedy if the puramanik forbid a union: he has no occasion to assign any reason: in his office he is as arbitrary as the Dey of Algiers. When the wedding is to take place, the puramanik is consulted respecting the invitations to the guests;

an accountable creature. One day, as Mr. Carey was discoursing on the evil of sin, a person who heard him declared he had never committed sin in his life. "We can do no wrong," said some others who joined in the conversation, "we are only instruments; our will is God in us." Mr. Carey

nor can any one be invited without his express permission. Hence, if he be at variance with a family who ought to be invited, he issues his prohibition, and this family dare not attend, unless they can propitiate him."

"When the guests to the amount, perhaps, of two or three hundred, are all assembled, the father of the girl asks leave of this officer to give his daughter to the bridegroom, and his permission being obtained, the ceremony proceeds. Sometimes, however, he starts objections, and stiffly refuses his consent till he has extorted such bribes as he thinks the parties can afford. At a recent wedding, in which the father of the boy resided at Serampore, a quarrel took place at the moment when the bride was about to be presented to the bridegroom. The father of the bride, accosting his own puramanik, asked leave to present the girl; and he, without consulting the puramanik of the boy's father, gave permission, upon which the latter, in a furious passion, forbade the wedding, declaring that he ought to have been consulted. The whole assembly were thrown into confusion; and the puramanik of the boy's father set the opposite party at defiance; and declared he would see who durst marry the couple without his leave; the wedding was thus prevented for that night. All the next day, the parties continued at a distance, and the day was occupied with conflicting arguments on this momentous dispute between the two puramaniks. When the night arrived, and the guests could stay no longer, these two rival monarchs were brought to terms, and the parents were permitted to bind the two animals together; who, through life, are destined to exhibit a scene, similar to what is often witnessed in our native country, when two hounds fastened together by a collar, continually drag different ways till they arrive at the kennel." *The Friend of India*, No. 5. p. 76.

then talked of particular sins, saying, "If you commit theft, lewdness, or murder, are they not your sins?" "O, no," they replied, "they are not our sins; it is God who does all." He used many arguments to convince them of the absurdity and wickedness of such ideas; but all was in vain, until at last he said, "Well, if you can do no sin, come eat some rice with me to-day. It will be God's act, not yours." With this they were struck dumb, and had not a word to reply. Probably they would sooner have murdered a man, or been hanged themselves, than eaten, or even touched, a particle of food dressed by a European. If a Hindoo is detected in theft, or charged with murder, he generally answers, that his *Kopal*, or forehead, is bad. By this they mean, that they were destined by God to commit such crimes; for it is a common opinion among them, that the fate of every man is written in his forehead; and that therefore the whole of their conduct in life is chargeable on God, and not on themselves. This doctrine prevails amongst them almost universally; and to clear themselves from the inconsistency of charging sin on a holy God, they maintain, that no act of the Deity can be criminal. If sin, say they, enters into him, it is consumed like fuel in the fire, and thus its malignity is taken away. The idea of fatality is not confined to the present state of existence, but extends to the life to come, and produces the utmost indifference with regard to futurity. Ask a labourer, Whether or not he will go to heaven when he dies? "What can I do?" he will reply, "if God hath written it in my fate, I shall go to heaven; if not I shall go to hell." "But do you

hope to go to heaven? You are sinful : how shall your sins be forgiven ?” “ I am a poor man,” he will answer, “ what can I know ? My gooroo knows that ; he will obtain pardon for me.” Perhaps, however, this gooroo, or teacher, is a hundred miles distant : some Brahmin, whom the poor deluded creature has not seen ten times in his life. Besides, the doctrine of transmigration is a new source of crimes, and renders them still further proof against the convictions of conscience, and indifferent to that salvation which the gospel reveals. The present life is regarded by them not as a state of probation, but of punishment for the sins of some pre-existent state ; and hence, however infamous their conduct may be, they assert it cannot be criminal, because they are now expiating former transgressions. In another point of view, the doctrine of transmigration proves extremely pernicious. In Europe, men are excited to attend to religion with diligence and without delay, by the consideration that their everlasting happiness may depend on their improvement of the present moment ; but in India, they are encouraged to indulge in negligence and procrastination, by the hope that in some future birth, they shall enjoy better fortunes, be great, and rich, and happy, and so be in circumstances, more favourable for attending to the care of the soul. Even when they are driven from all these refuges, and are no longer able to still the small voice of conscience, the facility with which they can be cleansed from sin, proves a complete solace to their mind, and forms a powerful barrier to the progress of the gospel among them. In the estimation of a Hindoo, the sight, the name, or the

touch of Gunga,* takes away the most heinous transgressions: Thinking of Gunga, even though the person is at a distance, delivers from all moral pollution, and confers a title to heaven: Bathing in Gunga, accompanied with prayer, removes the iniquities of thousands of births, and gives a claim to blessings beyond the conception of the human imagination? One day, a native told Mr. Carey, that, let him sin as much as he would, the river Gunga would wash it all away. On another occasion, a shopkeeper said, that should he live in the practice of adultery, lying, and other crimes, till his death, yet if he then repeated the name of Krishna, he would without difficulty ascend to heaven. The Hindoos, in short, had no fixed moral principles on which it was possible to argue with them; hence, instead of reasoning from the ordinary doctrines of natural religion, the missionaries had in the first instance to establish them, a point of no small difficulty, where there are scarcely any *data* admitted in common by the disputants.ⁱ

The antiquity of the Hindoo institutions, extending back, as they imagine, many hundred thousand years, creates in their minds the highest veneration for them, and indisposes them for the examination of a system, which to them, appears as a production of yesterday. “Can all our sages and philosophers,” say they, “have been mistaken? Can all their learned and voluminous disquisitions be founded on

ⁱ Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 449, 482; vol. ii. p. 50, 73.—Ward’s View of the History, Literature, and Religion of the Hindoos, vol. i. p. 268, 272, 276; vol. ii. p. 160, 172, 173.—Missionary Herald, 1819, p. 93.

* The Ganges.

error? Can all the countless millions who have lived and died, in the belief and practice of their precepts, have been deceived? And are all the millions by whom we are surrounded, likewise mistaken? Have we not among us visible proofs of the favour and approbation of the Deity? If he did not support our devotees, how could they endure such exquisite sufferings? How, without divine aid, could they lie night and day on a bed of spikes, or hold up their arm, till it has become stiff and withered, and clench their fingers, till the nails have grown through their hands, or lie down, and look, and wait till the wheels of the car of Juggernaut pass over them, and crush them to atoms? How, destitute of heavenly support, could young, feeble, timid females walk with calmness, and even with triumph around the funeral pile of their lifeless husbands, and then throw themselves upon it, to be consumed to ashes? If our religion be not divine, how are we to account for these things?"^k

Even the associations of language in the mind of a Hindoo, present an obstacle to the reception of the gospel of no inconsiderable magnitude. If the Christian missionary speaks to him of God, his mind immediately reverts to some idol; if he inculcates holiness, he thinks of ceremonial purity; if he makes known a future state, his imagination reverts to the doctrine of transmigration; if he speaks of heaven, his conceptions turn to the polluted residence of the gods. Thus the terms which the missionary is compelled to employ, when unexplained, do not convey Christian, but Pagan ideas.^l

^k Ward's Farewell Letters, p. 138, 142. ^l Ibid. p. 141.

The servility, the avarice, and the duplicity of the Hindoos, are a further bar to the propagation of Christianity among them. Of the character of the natives in these respects, it is scarcely possible for a European to form an adequate conception. To the missionaries, this was a very perplexing circumstance, as they found it extremely difficult to form a just estimate of the professions of such as became inquirers about the gospel. Among the Hindoos, the hope of being employed in some work, or recommended to some other person, or even of getting only a few cowries, is sufficient to induce a man in easy circumstances to carry on a deception for a year or two together, with the utmost servility imaginable.^m

It is not, however, unworthy of observation, that the distinction of casts which we have stated as so considerable a bar to the progress of Christianity in India, may prove highly beneficial as a corrective of this evil. The Hindoos being distinguished by the deceitfulness of their character, the renunciation of cast will form a test of sincerity, peculiarly adapted to such a people. Thus the oil of the serpent will prove an antidote to its poison. Were it not for the cast, the dread of imposition would alloy the pleasure of success, and mar the delight of Christian communion; but in consequence of this, the danger of imposition will not, perhaps, be greater in India than in other countries. Some, no doubt, will prove impostors, for such are found in all ages and in all places; but it is probable the number will not be great, since it is scarcely conceivable that

^m Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 483.

persons will sacrifice nearly all their worldly prospects merely from worldly motives. If, under such circumstances, men prove deceivers, it is likely they must first have deceived themselves.ⁿ

In May 1799, Messrs. William Ward, Joshua Marshman, Daniel Brunsdon, and William Grant, sailed for India in an American vessel, commanded by Captain Wickes. On their arrival, they proceeded to Serampore, a Danish settlement on the river Hoogley, about 15 miles above Calcutta; and as the Captain was informed that his ship would not be entered unless they either made their appearance at the police office of Calcutta, or agreed to continue at Serampore, they preferred remaining, at least, for the present, at that place. On receiving information of these circumstances, Mr. Carey employed all the interest in his power, to obtain permission for them to settle in the neighbourhood of Malda, but his efforts were of no avail. It therefore, became a question whether the missionaries in that quarter should join those at Serampore, or whether they should labour separately. Owing to the failure of the crops, the factory at Mudnabatty had lately been relinquished, and Mr. Carey, with the view of providing for the mission, had taken a small one at Kidderpore, a place about twelve miles distant. To leave that quarter of the country would be attended with the loss of L.500 on this undertaking, and the sacrifice, in a great measure, of all their past labours. On the other hand, at Serampore, they would enjoy the protection of the Danish government, might prosecute the grand objects of the mission, espe-

ⁿ Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 156.

cially the printing of the Holy Scriptures, with greater facility than in their present situation, and would have a more populous neighbourhood as the scene of their labours. Weighing these several circumstances, Mr. Carey acquiesced in the wishes of his brethren, and agreed to come to Serampore. Nothing, however, but dire necessity, dictated this measure; it was so far from being the result of human wisdom, that every thing possible was *done* to avoid it; yet this step, taken with such extreme reluctance, proved in the issue a principal mean of the establishment and success of the mission. °

In August 1800, died Mr. John Fountain, who came out as a missionary about four years before. Having lately gone up the country to manufacture indigo, at the request of Mr. Udney, he was attacked, soon after his arrival, with a violent dysentery, a disease under which he had previously laboured, and which had already greatly enfeebled his constitution. But though severely afflicted in his body, he was so comfortable in his mind, that the chamber where he lay seemed “just on the verge of heaven.” In him, death, instead of appearing as the king of terrors, assumed the mild and pleasing aspect of a messenger of peace. One day, on awaking from a short sleep, he exclaimed, “I am so happy, that at this rate I thought I could live out four generations.” He desired that all the natives who knew him might be told that he was not afraid to die, that there was no Saviour but Christ, and that unless they believed in him, they would perish for ever. His peaceful departure made a deep impression on the

° Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 520; vol. ii. p. 39, 46; vol. iii. p. iii.—Brief Narrative, p. 25.

minds of his visitors and other friends. "Surely," said one gentleman who often saw him, "this must be genuine religion, which so sticks by a man in his dying moments." The doctor who attended him, acknowledged, that he never saw a person so composed and resigned in the view of death as Mr. Fountain, and expressed a wish to die like him. To die like him, indeed, appeared so enviable, that another gentleman could not help wishing himself in his stead, with such a bright and glorious prospect before him. Nature being at length exhausted, he sunk under the ravages of his disorder, and quietly resigned his spirit into the hands of the Redeemer, leaving behind him a widow, to whom he had been married little more than nine months, and who shortly after was delivered of a fine boy, a fatherless child, in a strange land.^p

Hitherto, the missionaries had laboured among the Hindoos with little or no success. Thirteen years had now elapsed since Mr. Thomas entered on the work, and in the course of that period he had thrown much away on deceitful, or at least unfruitful characters. Mr. Carey, though he had not relaxed in his labours, was much discouraged; all hope of his own success had now in fact nearly expired. "I acknowledge," says he, "that want of success, together with a sense of my great carnality and unfitness for so important an undertaking, has not a little damped my spirits. I know the Lord can work by the meanest instruments, but I often question, whether it would be for his honour to work by such a one as me. Perhaps, it would too

^p Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 83.

much sanction carnal security and guilty sloth in others, if a person so deeply sunk in these evils should meet with an eminent blessing." Such was the humility of this excellent man! But as the hopes of the missionaries were, perhaps, never so low, their prayers seem never to have been more ardent. A holy unction appeared to rest on them all; and they seemed to be more than usually strengthened to wrestle for a blessing. It is also not unworthy of observation, that the missionaries had of late, made the death of Christ more than ever the subject of their preaching, a circumstance which has almost uniformly been attendant on the success of the gospel among the Heathen.^a

Such was the state of the mission, when Mr. Thomas was called to visit a Hindoo of the name of Kristno, who had dislocated one of his arms. After reducing it, he talked to him of the glad tidings of salvation by Jesus Christ. The man had heard the gospel before, and was struck with it; now he complained he was a sinner, a great sinner, and with many tears, cried out: "Save me, Sahib, save me." Three or four weeks after, Kristno, and another of the natives named Gokool, came and ate publicly with the missionaries, and thus voluntarily threw away their cast, which had hitherto seemed like a fortress next to impregnable. In the evening of the same day, both of them, together with Kristno's wife and her sister, who were also seriously impressed by the gospel, presented themselves before the church, and made a solemn profession of

^a Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 488 ; vol. ii. p. 124, 158, 161, 165.—Brief Narrative, p. 31.

their faith in Christ, and of obedience to his commands. The whole of the exercise was highly delightful to all, particularly to Mr. Thomas, who was almost overcome with joy.^r

As soon as it was noised abroad that these people had lost cast, the whole neighbourhood was in an uproar. Animated with indignation, they seized the family of Kristno, and dragged them before the chief magistrate; but he, instead of censuring, dismissed them with commendations for their conduct. Baffled in this attempt, they brought them back under a fresh charge, accusing Kristno of refusing to deliver up his daughter to a young Hindoo, to whom she had been contracted in marriage about four years before, but was sent back to remain at her father's till she should be of proper age. Hearing, however, that the family had embraced the gospel, the young man came to Serampore with some of his friends, and distributing a little money among the populace, raised a mob, who carried them before the magistrate. The parties having, by order of the governor, appeared before himself, the girl declared she would become a Christian along with her father; while the young man to whom she was espoused, on being asked whether he would renounce Heathenism, replied in the negative. Upon this, the governor told him, that he could not possibly deliver up a Christian woman to a Heathen man; and therefore unless he cordially embraced Christianity, he should not have her. Thus the matter terminated for the present, to the

^r Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 122, 124, 140.—Biblical Magazine, vol. ii. p. 236.

great joy of the poor girl, who was much afraid of being brought into this connexion.^s

Intimidated by the violent proceedings of the mob, or overcome by the tears and entreaties of their relations, Gokool and the two women begged to delay their baptism for some weeks. Kristno, however, remained firm and stedfast amidst the storm; and on the last Sabbath of the year was baptized in the neighbouring river, together with Felix Carey, the eldest son of Mr. Carey, then a youth of about fifteen. The governor, and a number of Europeans, Portuguese, Hindoos, and Musulmen attended. All was silence and attention. The governor could not refrain from tears, and almost the whole of the spectators seemed to be struck with the solemnity of the ordinance. By degrees the other converts took courage, and were baptized; and even Gokool's wife, whose opposition to his baptism was the chief cause of its delay, followed his example in a few months.^t

In February 1801, the missionaries gained another important triumph, by the publication of the New Testament in the Bengalee language. The translation of the Holy Scriptures for the use of the natives, was an object on which their heart had long been set. "I would give a million of pounds, if I had them," said Mr. Thomas with his usual ardour, "to see a Bengalee Bible." He had accordingly translated several books, even before his visit to England; but this was a work for which he was less calculated than for some other parts of missionary

^s Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 125, 143.

^t Ibid. vol. ii. p. 127, 131, 169, 180, 185.

labour. Mr. Carey, however, was qualified, in no ordinary degree, for the undertaking; and had finished the translation of the New Testament three or four years before. Various circumstances, however, had hitherto prevented its publication, but this was now accomplished by Mr. Ward, who had been bred a printer, and who, in that capacity, afterwards rendered distinguished service to the mission.^u

Soon after the publication of the New Testament, Mr. Carey was appointed by Marquis Wellesley, the British Governor-General, teacher of the Bengalee and Sungskrit languages in the College of Fort-William. He had no expectation of such an appointment; and when the application was made to him, he had some hesitation in accepting of it, lest it should interfere with his proper work as a missionary; nor did he accept of it until he had consulted with his brethren, who thought that, instead of obstructing, it would promote the interests of the mission. He was afterwards advanced to the rank of a Professor in the College, and his salary raised to a thousand rupees a month, or about L.1500 a year: the whole of which, agreeably to the established rules of the family, he generously devoted to the purposes of the mission.^v *

^u Memoir relative to the Translations of the Scriptures, addressed to the Baptist Missionary Society, 1808, p. 4.—Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 292, 368, 417, 527; vol. ii. p. 62, 132.

^v Brief Narrative, p. 37.—Miss. Mag. vol. xii. p. 481.

* On settling at Serampore, the missionaries agreed that no one should engage in any employment of a private nature; but that whatever pecuniary profits any of them might realize, should be appropriated to the general purposes of the mission.

Amidst these auspicious circumstances, the missionaries were not without their trials, amongst which, was the loss of two of their colleagues. As one of these, Mr. Thomas was the original founder of the mission, it may not be improper to give a sketch of his peculiar yet interesting character.

Mr. Thomas was a man of exquisite sensibility, combined with remarkable seriousness and deep devotion. He seldom, however, walked in an even path: he was either full of cheerful active love, or his hands hung down as if he had no hope: his joys bordered on ecstasy; his sorrows on despair.

His talents, at first sight, seemed better adapted for writing and conversation than for preaching; but, in fact, they were accommodated to that kind of preaching to which he was called; a lively, metaphorical, pointed address, dictated by the circumstances of the moment, and maintained amidst the interruptions and contradictions of a Pagan audience. One day, after addressing a number of the natives on the banks of the Ganges, he was thus accosted by a Brahmin: "Sahib, don't you say that the devil tempts men to sin?" "Yes," answer-

In consequence of this disinterested regulation, they have since their settlement at that place, devoted upwards of FIFTY THOUSAND POUNDS to missionary objects. They now raise for this purpose, about SEVEN THOUSAND Pounds a-year. It may not, however, be improper to state, that while the missionaries have devoted these large sums to the support and extension of the mission, they appropriated part of their income to objects, to which, it is not probable, the society would have considered itself at liberty to have applied its funds, at least, to the same extent. *Period. Accounts*, vol. ii. p. 44.—*Report of the Baptist Missionary Society*, 1819, p. 32, 41.—*Circular Letters*, vol. i. p. 102.—*Bapt. Magazine*, vol. x. p. 354.

ed Mr. Thomas. "Then," said the Brahmin, "certainly it is the devil who is in the fault; the devil, therefore, not man, ought to suffer the punishment." While the people discovered, by their looks, their approbation of this mode of reasoning, Mr. Thomas observed a boat, with several men on board, sailing on the river, and, with that facility of reply for which he was so distinguished, answered, "Brahmin, do you see yonder boat?" "Yes," said he. "Suppose," added Mr. Thomas, "I were to send some of my friends to destroy every person on board, and to bring me all that is valuable in it; who ought to suffer the punishment? I for instructing them, or they for doing the wicked action." "Why," answered the Brahmin, with some emotion, "you ought all to be put to death together." "Yes, Brahmin," said Mr. Thomas, "and if you and the devil sin together, the devil and you will be punished together."^w

Never, perhaps, did a man enjoy more exquisitely the pleasure of doing good than Mr. Thomas: it was a perfect luxury to him; it seemed to transport his very soul. Such was his sympathy for the poor afflicted Hindoos, that it often affected his own health. Happily his medical skill afforded him ample means of administering to their relief; and such was his reputation among them, that they came from thirty or forty miles round to consult him: there were almost always patients at his door; and when he travelled through the country, the people flocked to him in great numbers.^x

^w Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 247.—Evan. Mag. vol. xx. p. 303.

^x Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 292, 314, 479; vol. ii. p. 251.

Mr. Thomas was a man to whom no person that knew him could feel indifferent; he was sure to excite either love or aversion. In general, his social affectionate carriage produced attachment; and even when he gave offence to his friends, a single interview often dissipated their resentment, and rekindled all their former affection.

Possessed, however, as Mr. Thomas was of many excellent and amiable qualities, his faults were neither few nor inconsiderable. He was of an irritable temper, wanting in economy, and more ardent to form great and generous plans than patient to execute them. But when we consider the many trials he had to endure through life, and especially when we think of the affliction which overtook him some months before his death, by which he was for several weeks in a state of complete mental derangement, we feel disposed to pity rather than to censure him; as little or no doubt remains, that the inequality of his temper, and other irregularities with which he was chargeable, proceeded from a tendency in his constitution to that dreadful malady.

Previous to his death, it was obvious to himself, as well as to his friends, that he was gliding swiftly down the stream of time into the ocean of eternity. The world and all sublunary things seemed now to recede from his view, like the sun sinking below the distant mountains. Wearied out with the storms of life, he longed to reach that happy land, where sin and sorrow are unknown. Toward the close of his sickness, his pains were exceedingly great; but even in the midst of extreme anguish he exclaimed, "O death, where is thy sting?" At length, after a

severe conflict, he breathed his last, and, we doubt not, entered into the joy of the Lord.^y

Notwithstanding the diminution of their numbers, the missionaries continued to prosecute their labours with unabated diligence and zeal. In the evening they usually went into the streets of Serampore, where they conversed, disputed, or distributed papers, according to circumstances; and though most of the people mocked, despised, and insulted them, yet some were disposed to hear them, and to read the tracts. The Brahmins were forced to fly from the disputes, or to hear their system exposed to contempt before the populace, who till now had revered them as gods; many things which used formerly to be taken for granted by the people, now became matter of dispute, and even Sooders learned to doubt. Some of the missionaries also travelled through the country, and in these journies preached the gospel to multitudes who had never heard it before, distributed thousands of tracts, and, in such places as seemed most eligible, copies of the New Testament. These were received by the people with the utmost avidity; and some of them were carried as far as Benares, a distance of more than three hundred miles. These excursions were followed by numbers of the natives coming to Serampore from different parts of the country, to inquire after the new way of salvation, concerning which they had obtained some information, either from seeing the papers circulated by the missionaries, or by conversing with those who had seen them. During their stay, they ate and drank with Kristno's

^y Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 251, 254.

family, by which they in effect renounced their cast.^z

The missionaries now discovered, that numbers of the Hindoos, though they did not abandon their casts, yet despised them in their heart, and even spoke of them with contempt. A Brahmin from Calcutta, who visited them, professed himself a complete sceptic with respect to the Hindoo system, and he informed them there were several others of the same cast as himself, who entertained similar sentiments. To shew his contempt of Hindooism, he trampled under foot the gaytree, or sacred verse, which none but a Brahmin may pronounce; and he afterwards took the poito from his neck, and twisted it round his great toe. He mentioned the sarcastic manner in which he had talked with the Brahmins about consecrating a stone, and setting it up as a god: "You know," said he, "that this is a stone; a workman cut it into its present form; before it was thus shaped it could do nothing, and can you suppose that the labours of a stonecutter can invest it with divine power?" "No," they replied, "but the priest anoints it, and pronounces the words of consecration, upon which the divinity enters into it." "Well," said he, "if you have power to invest a stone with divinity, I should think you could turn a man into a deity. You see I am a poor man, and suffer much distress in the world; but a stone meets with no trouble: besides, I can not only speak, but eat the sacrifices, which a stone cannot. Now, why not turn me into a god? If you could do this, it would be an act of charity; for I should

^z Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 226, 235, 238, 268.

get rid of all my troubles, and be happy at once. Besides, being a man and a Brahmin, I have the first claim upon you.”^a

The missionaries, indeed, now discovered whole communities of the Hindoos, in different parts of the country, who despised their casts, their Brahmins, and their gods. Some of these sects consisted of many thousand members; but though they contemned the religion of Brahma in their heart, they conformed to it in their practice, for the sake of their reputation and comfort in society. A respectable family in Chinsurah, who belonged to one of these communities, manifested a violent enmity to the Brahmins, and in a curious memorial which they presented to the chief magistrate of the police at Calcutta, they complained that as it was a great misery to be born into this world even but once, the Brahmins were extremely culpable in neglecting to instruct them, since by this means, they rendered them liable as a punishment for their sins, to be born many times! The missionaries visited some of these sects, and were received by them in a friendly manner: the leaders of two of them expressed their approbation of the gospel; but one of these, when he afterwards understood something more of its nature, wrote to his disciples, warning them against it, telling them, that if they regarded it, they would have pigs' faces, and go to hell for a long time after death. It is a circumstance not unworthy of observation, that the missionaries uniformly found, that so long as people did not understand the import of their message, they appeared

^a Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 235.—Bib. Mag. vol. iii. p. 157.

to listen to it; but the moment they understood something of its nature, they either became indifferent, or began to ridicule and oppose it, unless it came with power to their hearts. ^b

Though in the eyes of Europeans, the Hindoos in general, appear rigidly attached to their own superstition, yet this, we are assured, is far from being the case. In modern times, according to a very intelligent Brahmin, nine tenths of the Hindoo population, have abandoned all conscientious regard to the religion of their ancestors. They rise in the morning without repeating the name of God: they pass the day without observing any religious ceremony, till the time of bathing at noon, when for fear of being reproached by their neighbours, they perform the ordinary ablutions. A few toil through the customary rites, which occupy about fifteen minutes: others merely bathe, or hypocritically make a few of the signs used in worship, and then return home and eat. Many spend the time of bathing in conversation with others, or in gazing at the women: and there are even some, who ridicule those who employ much time in religious ceremonies. "What," say they, "you have taken an ass' load of religion." "Truly! you are become very religious, a very holy man." Multitudes, indeed, attend the public festivals; but it is not reverence for the gods which brings them thither. During the ceremonies of worship, the spectators are few in number, and take no interest in the mummary going on before the image. It is only when the well known sound of the drum is heard, summoning

^b Period. Accounts, vol. ii.

the people to the midnight orgies, the dance, and the song, that they assemble in such multitudes as almost to tread one upon another. The grand attraction on these occasions is not religion; but the prostitutes, the lascivious dances, and the filthy songs; songs so abominable that no person can repeat them beyond the precincts of the temple. So little reverence, indeed, have the Hindoos for their gods, that on the slightest occasions, they speak of them in the most disrespectful manner. When it thunders, the higher classes exclaim: "Oh! the gods are giving us a bad day!" The lower orders say: "The rascally gods are dying." During a heavy rain, a woman of respectable cast, frequently exclaims: "Let the gods perish: my clothes are all wet." One of low rank, says: "These rascally gods are sending more rain." In times of affliction, the Hindoos often break forth in angry expressions against their idols, telling them that they have presented so many offerings to them, and yet they have suffered such calamities to befall them. Some carry their resentment so far as to curse their gods; others take down their images, abuse them, kick them out of doors, and destroy them.^c *

^c Ward's View of the Hindoos, vol. i. p. xlix, lv, lxxx, xc. —Brief Memoirs of Four Christian Hindoos, p. 110.

* These statements of Mr. Ward in his *View of the Hindoos*, differ widely from the ideas which commonly prevail with respect to that people; neither do they correspond with the representation which he himself has given in his *Farewell Letters*: "No people," says he in that work, "can be more religious than the Hindoos, if that deserves the name of religion, in which we can find neither the true God, nor the Saviour, nor morality." "The schemes of this people to obtain happiness after death, are endless, and their earnestness and perseverance in prosecut-

Meanwhile, however, the Brahmins and many others of the Hindoos were not a little irritated by the progress of the gospel, and treated the missionaries, as well as the converts, with great opposition and contempt. Sometimes when the missionaries were preaching, the people shouted and laughed, attacked them with abusive language, and endeavoured to create an uproar. A Brahmin being one day asked, why he opposed what Mr. Carey had said, made this reply, "Because he tells me of Jesus Christ, that hated name." On another occasion, when Mr. Marshman was endeavouring to quiet some of the Brahmins, one more insolent than the rest declared, among other things equally respectful, that it was a sin for him to hear him speak, or even to look in his face. The Christian converts were still more exposed to the insolence and abuse of their countrymen, than even the missionaries; but they bore all with patience and meekness, shewing no disposition to return evil for evil. In

ing these schemes, have no bounds," p. 108. But though there appears to be an inconsistency between these different statements of Mr. Ward, we apprehend there is a great deal of truth in the account we have given in the body of the work. We suspect that neither Heathens nor Mohammedans have that zeal and concern about religion, which are commonly ascribed to them; that in reference to God, and the soul, and eternity, there is much of the same indifference among them, which prevails among professed Christians; that though when collected together at festivals, and on other public occasions, they may appear "mad on their idols," or on their prophet, yet in the habitual state of their mind, and in the daily practice of their life, there is comparatively little regard felt by them for the principles and precepts of the religion they profess.

Calcutta, multitudes of the natives used to follow them through the streets, clapping their hands, and insulting them in every form. Some abused them as *feringas*, others for losing cast; some called them *Yesoo Khreest*, and bowing to them, said, "Salam Yesoo Khreest." One day, when several of them were in a neighbouring town, the populace set upon them as *feringas*, as destroyers of cast, as having eaten fowls, eggs, and other similar articles. On their attempting to return, the mob began to beat, and otherwise maltreat them, and a man who was a civil officer grazed the point of a spear against the body of one of them. Finding them bear all these insults with patience, they threw cow-dung, mixed in Gunga water, at them; talked of making them a necklace of old shoes; and threatened, that should they ever return, they would murder them. One of the converts, who resided in a distant village, was seized by the chief Bengalee man of the place, who bound his hands, and dragged him from his house, while the whole of the villagers hissed at him, threw dirt and cow-dung upon him, clogged his face, eyes, and ears with cow-dung, and in this state kept him tied up to the pillar of an idol temple, for several hours. Besides these acts of violence, the converts suffered many other serious inconveniences from the enmity of their countrymen. They could scarcely, for instance, obtain ground to build upon, or even a house to rent. One of them, after going about for two or three days, and wandering over the whole town, at last persuaded a woman to let him have a house; but though she herself was a *feringa*, yet when she heard that he

was a Brahmin who had become a Christian, she insulted him and drove him away.^d

Among the trials which the converts had to endure, their situation, in respect of marriage, was not the least considerable. In some cases, they appear to have had more than one wife at the time of their conversion. After discussing the duty of a person in such circumstances, the missionaries seem to have determined, that though the New Testament condemns polygamy, yet when a man happens to have more than one wife when he embraces Christianity, he is not required to put any of them away, only he is thereby disqualified for the office of the ministry. In other cases, the converts were obliged at the time to forsake their houses, their friends, and even the wife of their bosom; nor would she afterwards have any correspondence with them; or if willing herself, was forcibly prevented by her relations. By this means they were to all intents and purposes reduced to a state of widowhood, and were in no small danger of falling into sin. It therefore became a question with the missionaries, whether it was not lawful for a person in such circumstances to marry a second wife while his first was still living, after he had in vain employed all possible means to induce her to return to him, and on not being able to recover her, had taken some public and solemn measures to acquit himself of the blame. This question they at length resolved in the affirmative; a decision in which they are supported by some very eminent writers, and which considerably lessened

^d Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 378, 507; vol. iii. p. 38, 41, 57, 245.—Bib. Mag. vol. ii. p. 195; vol. iii. p. 157.

the difficulty of the case. These questions are certainly of a very delicate nature: difficulties of no small magnitude attach to whatever view we take of them; yet the solution which the missionaries gave of them, is perhaps, on the whole, the most scriptural, rational, and just.^e *

But while the conversion of the natives gave great offence to their countrymen in general, it is easy to conceive that in some instances it might occasion them deep concern, and even give rise to scenes of the most tender and affecting nature. Of this we have an interesting example in the history of Soroop, a young Brahmin, whose father came to Serampore in order to take him away. One day, as Mr. Ward was sitting among the native converts in the Bengalee school, hearing them read and explain a portion of the Holy Scriptures, an aged grey-headed Brahmin came in, and standing before him, said, with folded hands, and in a supplicating tone of voice, "Sahib, I am come to ask an alms." Mr. Ward desired him to explain his meaning, as judging from his appearance, he did not look like one who stood in need of pecuniary aid. Being pressed on the subject, the old man at length asked him to give him his son, pointing to a young man named Soroop, in the midst of the native converts: "That," said he with a plaintive cry, "That is my son." Having endeavoured to comfort him, they at last prevailed on him to come and sit down upon

^e Brief Nar. p. 50.—Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 580; vol. iii. p. 314.

* The United Brethren, it is worthy of remark, took precisely the same view of these difficult questions, as the Baptist missionaries. See vol. i. p. 365.

the veranda. Here he began to weep again; and said, that the young man's mother was dying of grief; and that if he could only go home and see her, he should after that return again if he pleased. Mr. Ward informed him, that they exercised no control over his son, that he was at perfect liberty either to depart or stay, as he thought proper; only he proposed that he should stop, at least, till next morning, in order that he might have some time for deliberation; that his mind might become calm, and that he might pray for divine direction. The Brahmin, however, was averse to this proposal; he again urged, that his aged mother was dying of grief and if he would but go and if he did not like to stay, he might write a deed of separation for the preservation of their cast, and then he might do as he pleased. Mr. Ward told him that if his son were a child, he might command him; but as he was now a man, he ought to choose his religion for himself. The Brahmin at length called his son aside, and set up a great cry, weeping over him, and beseeching him to return. It was agreed, however, that Soroop should remain over the night; and though the missionaries were much afraid he would be overcome by the tenderness and grief of his father, yet they resolved to employ no other influence with him than exhortation and prayer. On leaving the school, Mr. Ward found that the old man had fallen down at the door in an agony of grief, and that one or two of his disciples who came with him were holding him up, endeavouring to persuade him to rise and go with them. Soroop, from the first, expressed his resolution not to return with his father; and next morning he declared that

he would not go now, but he would go soon, meaning after he was baptized. Finding that the young man refused to return, and that he had in fact already lost cast by eating with the converts, the people who had assembled on this occasion were obliged to depart. His aged father, however, said, that he would not return without him, but would lie down and die at Serampore. Such a scene must have been highly affecting. There was reason, however, to believe, we suppose, that the mother's illness was merely a pretence, to draw the son back to idolatry.^f

Pleasing, however, as was the progress of the work on the whole, the missionaries experienced no small perplexity respecting some of the converts, and were even obliged to suspend several of them from the Lord's table, on account of various irregularities in their behaviour; but most of these offenders were in a short time brought to a sense of their sin, and were restored to the communion of the church. Mr. Carey, in a letter to a friend, makes the following judicious, yet feeling observations respecting them: "With regard to the natives, the Lord has, on the one hand, stopped the mouths of malignant opposers, and on the other, we have enough of labour with them, to check, on our part, security and pride. It would, indeed, give you great pleasure could you step in among us on a communion Sabbath, and witness the lively affection with which such a number of persons of different colours, and of distant tribes, unite in commemorating the death of Christ. You must not,

^f Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 271; vol. iii. p. 43, 304.

however, suppose, that the converts are without their faults, or even that in knowledge and steadiness they equal the same number of Christians in England. We have to contend with their versatility, to bear with their precipitancy, to nurse them like children in the ways of righteousness. Sometimes we have to rebuke them sharply, sometimes to expostulate, sometimes to entreat; and often, after all, to carry them to the throne of grace, and to pour out our complaints before God. Our situation, in short, may be compared to that of a parent who has a numerous family. He must work hard to maintain them, is often full of anxiety concerning them, and has much to endure from their dullness, their indolence, and their perverseness. Yet still he loves them, for they are his children, and his love towards them mingles pleasure with all his toil.”^g*

^g Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 356, 416, 437.

* It is not unworthy of observation, that the converts from among the Heathen, both in India and in other countries, may be real Christians, and yet prove less amiable and consistent characters, than the followers of Christ in places where the gospel has long been known. Human character, as cognizable by man, is a compound of different materials, and the result of a variety of causes. The general state of morals in a country, for instance, has a mighty influence in regulating the views, and influencing the conduct of the inhabitants. In Britain, where lying, theft, robbery, adultery, &c. are in a considerable degree the objects of shame and disgrace, no man, and still less a Christian, can preserve his reputation, if he openly indulges in these or similar crimes. It is not so, however, in Hindostan. There such vices are so common, that no ignominy attaches to them; and hence there is nothing in the tone of public morals to restrain a Hindoo from these and other gross immoralities. If he be restrained from them, it is chiefly through the influence of Christian principles, and the operation

In January 1804, Mr. John Chamberlaine, who had lately arrived in India, and Felix Carey, accompanied by two of the native converts, went to Saugur island, where the river Hoogley and the sea meet, for the purpose of distributing tracts and Testaments among the Hindoos, who assemble here in immense crowds at this season of the year. As they approached that place, they fell in with numbers of boats, full of people, some of whom presented the most degraded and disgusting sights it is almost possible to imagine. Their hair had not been dressed, perhaps, for years; their beards had grown to an enormous length; their bodies were covered with the most odious and indecent figures. Some of these wretched creatures had come a

of divine grace on his heart. These observations are strikingly illustrated in the history of the apostolic age, particularly of the church at Corinth. That city, as is well known, was vicious to a proverb, and even the Christian inhabitants participated of its vices. They divided into violent parties; they held communion at idolatrous feasts; they connived at incest under its most disgraceful form; they prostituted the Lord's supper itself to the shameful purposes of drunkenness. Were such a community of professed Christians to appear amongst us, we would probably deem them a company of abandoned hypocrites, and give them up as total strangers to vital religion. Yet Paul did not act in that manner. He followed them; he exhorted them; he reclaimed them. It is therefore not unworthy of our serious inquiry, How far the comparative purity and regularity of our character are owing to various adventitious circumstances, rather than to the immediate influence of the gospel. If all that appears amiable and lovely in us, which springs from no higher source than a regard to our own interest or reputation, were taken out of the scale, and nothing left but what was purely the effect of Christian principle, many of us might not, perhaps, greatly outweigh a Corinthian or a Hindoo.

journey of four, or five months, to bathe in Gungo Saugur. On reaching this place, the missionaries were astonished beyond measure at the sight. In the course of a few days, there had been raised an immensely populous city, full of streets, lanes, and markets; many kinds of trade were now carrying on, with all the bustle of an established town. Crowds of men, women, and children, high and low, rich and poor, were bathing in the river and worshipping Gunga, by bowing, making salams, and spreading their offerings, consisting of rice, flowers, cowries, and other articles, on the shore, for the goddess to take when the tide returned. Many of them used formerly to devote themselves or their children to the sharks and alligators which abound in this part of the river: but, the British government had of late passed an act against this horrid practice, declaring it murder, punishable with death; and a guard of fifty Seapoys, under the command of a European sergeant, was placed along the banks, in order to prevent it. The water and mud of this place are esteemed so precious and holy, that quantities of them are carried hundreds of miles into the country on men's shoulders. The natives sprinkle their bodies with the water, and daub themselves with the mud; and this, they say, purifies them from all sin. The multitude assembled on this occasion was computed at upwards of a hundred thousand persons. Besides conversing with them on the subject of religion, Mr. Chamberlaine and his companions distributed among them vast quantities of tracts, and a number of copies of the New Testament, and of the book of Psalms. Most of those to whom they gave them

came from distant parts of the country, where the gospel had never been made known, and the news of salvation never heard.^h

In October, 1805, the missionaries entered into a "Form of Agreement," respecting the great principles on which the mission should be conducted. This document breathes so much of the spirit of genuine Christianity, exhibits so fully the system of our Baptist Brethren in Christianizing the Hindoos, and affords so admirable an example to other missionaries, that we cannot forbear inserting considerable extracts from it, and trust that their importance will be deemed a sufficient apology for their length : *

"I. In order" say they, "to be prepared for our great and solemn work, it is absolutely necessary that we set an infinite value upon immortal souls ; that we often endeavour to affect our minds with the dreadful loss sustained by an unconverted soul launched into eternity. It becomes us to fix in our minds the awful doctrine of eternal punishment, and to realize frequently the inconceivably dreadful condition of this vast country, lying in the arms of the wicked one. If we have not a deep sense of the value of souls, it is impossible we can feel aright in any part of our work, and in this case it would have been better for us to have held any other office than that of a missionary. Oh ! may our hearts bleed over these poor idolaters, and may their case lie with weight on our minds,

^h Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 513, 516. Buchanan's Researches, 3d edit. p. 42.

* On these extracts, we have used the freedom to make a number of verbal alterations.

that we may resemble that eminent missionary, who compared the anxiety of his soul, on account of the spiritual state of those committed to his charge, to the pains of childbirth. But while we thus mourn over their miserable condition, let us not be discouraged, as though their recovery were impossible. He who raised the sottish and brutalized Britons to sit in heavenly places in Christ Jesus, can raise these slaves of superstition, purify their hearts by faith, and make them worshippers of the one God in spirit and in truth.

“ II. It is necessary, in our intercourse with the Hindoos, to abstain, as far as we are able, from those things which would increase their prejudices against the gospel. Those parts of English manners which are most offensive to them, we should keep out of sight as much as possible. We must not at once attack their prejudices, by exhibiting, with acrimony, the sins of their gods; neither should we, on any account, do violence to their images, or interrupt their worship. The conquests of the gospel are those of love: “ And I, if I be lifted up, will draw all men unto me.” Let us be continually afraid lest one unguarded word, or one unnecessary display of the difference betwixt us, in sentiment or manners, should set the natives at a greater distance from us. Paul’s readiness to become all things to all men, that he might by any means save some, and his disposition to abstain even from necessary comforts, that he might not offend the weak, are circumstances worthy of our particular attention. The mild manners of the Moravians, and also of the Quakers, towards the North American Indians, have in many instances gained the af-

fections and confidence of these poor heathen in a wonderful degree. He who is too proud to stoop to others, because they are in many respects inferior to himself, is ill qualified for the office of a missionary.

“ III. It becomes us to watch all opportunities of doing good. A missionary would be highly culpable, if he contented himself with preaching two or three times a-week, to such persons as he may be able to collect together, into a place of worship. To carry on conversations with the natives almost every hour of the day, to go from village to village, from market to market, from one assembly to another; to talk to servants, labourers, and others, as often as opportunity offers, to be instant in season and out of season—this is the life to which we are called in this country. We are apt to relax in these active exertions, especially in a warm climate; but we shall do well to fix it in our minds, that life is short, that all around us are perishing, and that we incur a dreadful woe if we proclaim not the glad tidings of salvation.

“ IV. In preaching to the Heathen, we must follow the example of Paul, and make Christ crucified, the great subject of our preaching. It would be easy for a missionary to preach nothing but truths, and that for many years together, without any well-grounded hope of becoming useful to a single soul. The doctrine of Christ’s expiatory death, and all-sufficient merits, has ever been the grand mean of the conversion of sinners. This doctrine, and others immediately connected with it, have constantly nourished and sanctified the church. Oh! that these glorious truths may ever be the joy

and strength of our own souls, and then they will not fail to become the matter of our conversation with others. It is a well-known fact, that the Moravians, the most successful missionaries in the world, at the present day, make the atonement of Christ their constant theme. They attribute all their success to the preaching of the death of our Saviour. So far as our experience goes in this work, we most freely acknowledge, that every Hindoo among us who has been gained to Christ, has been won by the astonishing and all-constraining love exhibited in our Redeemer's propitiatory death. Oh! let us then resolve to know nothing among the Hindoos and Mussulmen, but Christ, and him crucified.

“ V. It is absolutely necessary that the natives should have entire confidence in us, and feel quite at home in our company. To gain this confidence, we must on all occasions be willing to hear their complaints; we must give them the kindest advice, and we must decide on every question brought before us in the most open, upright, impartial manner. We ought to be easy of access, to condescend to them as much as possible, and on all occasions to treat them as our equals. All passionate behaviour, all force, every thing haughty, reserved, and forbidding, it becomes us ever to shun with the greatest care. We can never make too great sacrifices, when the eternal salvation of souls is the object in view, unless, indeed, we sacrifice the commands of Christ.

“ VI. Another important part of our work is, to watch over the souls that may be gathered. In this work we shall do well to simplify our first instruc-

tions as much as possible, and to press the great principles of the gospel upon the minds of the converts, till they are thoroughly grounded in the foundation of their hope toward God. We must be willing to spend some time with them daily in this work. We must exercise much patience with them, though their growth in divine knowledge should be very slow.

“ We ought also to endeavour, as much as possible, to form them to habits of industry, and assist them in procuring such employments as may be pursued with the least danger of temptations to evil. Here, too, we shall have occasion to exercise much tenderness and forbearance toward them, knowing that industrious habits are formed with difficulty by all Heathen nations. We ought also to remember, that they have made no common sacrifices, in renouncing their connexions, their homes, their means of support, and that it will be very difficult for them to procure employment from Heathen masters. In these circumstances, if we do not sympathize with them in their temporal losses for Christ, we shall be guilty of extreme cruelty.

“ As we consider it our duty to honour the civil magistrate, and in every country to render him cheerful obedience, whether we be persecuted or protected, it becomes us to instruct our native brethren in the same principles. It is equally our wisdom, and our duty, to shew to government, that it has nothing to fear from the progress of missions, since a follower of Christ must resist the example of his great Master, and all the precepts the Bible contains on this subject, before he can become dis-

loyal. Converted Heathens, being brought over to the religion of their Christian governors, if duly instructed, are much more likely to love them, and be united to them, than subjects of a different religion.

“To bear with the faults of our native brethren, to reprove them with tenderness, and to impress them with the necessity of a holy conversation, is a very important duty. We should remember the gross darkness in which they were so lately involved, having never had any clear and adequate idea of the evil of sin, or its consequences. We should recollect, how backward human nature is in forming spiritual ideas, and entering upon a life of holiness and self-denial. We must not, therefore, neglect or abandon a convert, even after many falls, while he manifests the least inclination to return.

“In walking before the native converts, we must exercise the greatest care and circumspection. The falls of Christians in Europe have not such a fatal tendency as in this country, because there the word of God always commands more attention than the conduct of the most exalted Christian. But here the natives, in consequence of their little knowledge of the Scriptures, naturally take our practice as a specimen of what Christ requires in his disciples. They know the Saviour and his doctrine chiefly as they shine forth in us.

“In conversing with the wives of the native converts, and forming them to be ornaments of the Christian name, we hope always to have the assistance of the females who have embarked with us in the mission. We see, that in primitive times the apostles were much assisted in their great work by

several pious women. The vast importance of female help may easily be conceived, if we consider how much the Asiatic women are shut up from the men, and especially from men of another religion. It behoves us, therefore, to afford our European sisters all possible assistance in acquiring the language, that they may, in every way which Providence opens to them, become instrumental in promoting the salvation of the millions of native women, who are in a great measure excluded from all opportunities of hearing the word from the lips of a missionary.

“VII. Another part of our work is, the forming our native brethren to usefulness, fostering every kind of genius, and cherishing every gift and grace in them. In this respect we can scarcely be too lavish of our attention to their improvement. It is only by means of native preachers that we can hope for the universal spread of the gospel throughout this immense continent. Europeans are too few, and their subsistence is too expensive, for us ever to hope that they can be the instruments of the universal diffusion of the word amongst so many millions of souls, spread over such a large portion of the habitable globe. Let us, therefore, use every gift, and continually urge on our native brethren to press upon their countrymen the glorious gospel of the blessed God.

“VIII. We have thought it our duty not to change the names of native converts, observing from Scripture that the apostles did not change those of the first Christians, as is evident from the names Epaphroditus, Phebe, Fortunatus, Sylvanus, Apollos, Hermes, Junia, Narcissus, most of which are

derived from those of Heathen gods. We think the great object which divine Providence has in view, in promulgating the gospel through the world, is not the changing of the names, the dress, the food, and the innocent usages of mankind, but to produce a moral and divine change on their heart and conduct. It would not be right to perpetuate the names of Heathen gods amongst Christians; but neither is it prudent, to give a new name to every man after his conversion, as hereby the economy of families, and neighbourhoods, would be needlessly disturbed. In other respects, we think it our duty to lead our brethren by example, by persuasion, and by illuminating their minds in a gradual way, rather than by any exercise of authority. By this means they will learn to see the evil of a custom, and then to forsake it; whereas, if force were employed, though they may abandon that which is wrong while in our presence, yet, not having seen the evil of it, they are in danger of using hypocrisy, and of doing that out of our presence which they dare not do in it.

“IX. That which, as a means, is to fit us for the discharge of these laborious and unutterably important labours, is the being instant in prayer, and the cultivation of personal religion. Let us ever bear in remembrance the examples of those who have been most eminent in the work of God. Let us often look at Brainerd in the woods of America, pouring out his very soul before God for the perishing Heathen, without whose salvation nothing could make him happy. Prayer, secret, fervent, believing prayer, lies at the root of all personal godliness. A competent knowledge of the languages, a mild

and winning temper, and a heart devoted to God in closet religion, these are the attainments which, more than all knowledge and all other gifts, will fit us to become the instruments of God in the great work of human redemption.

“ Finally, Let us devote ourselves unreservedly to this glorious cause. Let us never think that our time, our gifts, our strength, our families, are our own. Let us for ever shut out the idea of laying up a covey for ourselves or our children. If we give up the resolution which was formed on the subject of private trade when we first united at Serampore, the mission is from that hour a lost cause. A worldly spirit, quarrels, and every evil work will succeed, the moment it is admitted that each brother may do something on his own account. Woe to that man who shall ever make the smallest movement toward such a measure! Let us continually watch against a worldly spirit, and cultivate a holy indifference toward every temporal indulgence. If in this way we are enabled to glorify God with our bodies and spirits, which are his, our wants will be his care. No private family ever enjoyed a greater portion of happiness, even in the most prosperous gale of worldly prosperity, than we have done since we resolved to have all things in common, and that no one should pursue business for his own exclusive advantage.”ⁱ

In March 1806, the missionaries issued proposals for publishing the Holy Scriptures, in no fewer than fifteen of the Oriental languages, namely, the Sungskrit, the Bengalee, the Hindostanee, the Per-

ⁱ Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 198.

sic, the Mahratta, the Guzerattee, the Orissa, the Kurnata, the Telinga, the Burman, the Assamese, the Bootan, the Tibet, the Malay and the Chinese. Three or four years before, they had begun to translate them into the Hindostanee and the Persic, intending to say nothing of their design, until the New Testament at least should be completed. Having met, however, with unexpected success in this undertaking, they formed the magnificent idea of translating and printing the Holy Scriptures in the principal languages of the East. Such a mighty undertaking would have been deemed by the most of men utterly impracticable; but there were various circumstances which encouraged them with the hope of success. They possessed a critical knowledge of the Hebrew and Greek originals; they had one of the best libraries of critical works, on the Holy Scriptures, and of the ancient and modern versions of them, that were to be found in the Eastern world. They had been employed for a considerable time, in the work of translating, and had, in some degree, acquired that experience, and formed those habits which are requisite for that kind of labour. They were in a situation where they could obtain the assistance of learned natives, from most of the different countries, whom the College of Fort William had collected to that grand emporium of Oriental literature. Besides, the work was rendered comparatively easy, by the close relation which subsists between the Oriental languages, a circumstance of which it may not be improper to give some further explanation.^k

^k Miss. Mag. vol. ii. p. 380.—Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 456, 536.

Most of the languages of India, derive their origin from the Sungskrit, and constitute a philological family, which, for number, and a close resemblance to each other, is probably without a parallel. Among these, are the Hindostanee, the Bengalee, the Orissa, the Telinga, the Tamul, the Malayalim, the Kurnata, the Mahratta, the South Bahar, the Guzerattee, the Shikh, the Cashmere, the Dogura, the Sindhee, the Southern Sindhee, the Kutch, the Kunkuna, the Bikaneer, the Mooltanee, the Marwar, the Juypore, the Ooduypore, the Hurotee, the Maluwa, the Bruj Bhasa, the Bundelkhund, the North Koshala, the Mithilee, the Nepalese, and the Assamese. The whole of these languages, thirty-one in number, are not only derived from the Sungskrit; but, with the exception of the Telinga, the Kurnata, and one or two others, have nearly nine-tenths of the words in common with each other, most of them the same pronouns, and all of them, the same mode of construction. They each possess, however, a different set of terminations, and are as distinct from one another, as those languages of Europe, which are derived from a common source. Hence, though the language of one country, is unintelligible to the inhabitants of another, yet the study of the whole, is comparatively an easy task to a person who is previously acquainted with the Sungskrit. In learning any one of them, he has merely to acquire a knowledge of the peculiar terminations, which scarcely amount to a hundred, and of four or five hundred new words, the tenth of as many thousand, the ordinary number of vocables in most of them. It is evident, therefore, that to a person already acquainted with

Sungskrit, Hindostanee, and Bengalee, and with the principles on which the permutation of letters is founded, the acquisition of ten of these dialects will scarcely cost the labour of learning one language, entirely new to him, as it will be merely familiarizing himself with less than five thousand words, a work performed by every person who acquires a knowledge of Greek or Latin.

Most of the versions were made in the first instance, by learned natives, Brahmins, Mussulmen, and others. The pundits employed by the missionaries, were, in general, not only good Sungskrit scholars, but were acquainted with one or two, some of them with three or four of the cognate languages of India, beside their own vernacular tongue. But as they were, of course, ignorant of the original languages in which the scriptures were written, they translated from Dr. Carey's Sungskrit version, which may, therefore, be considered as the basis of most of the other translations. It was not, however, for the sake of ease to themselves, that the missionaries employed learned natives in making the first draught of the translations: it was because they considered this as the most effectual method of producing a neat, correct, intelligible version. It is a well known fact, that a native of some learning, can, in general, express an idea in his own vernacular tongue, with a perspicuity, and a force, a freedom, and an elegance, seldom or never attained by a foreigner; but yet, while the latter could not have expressed himself so well, he may be perfectly competent to judge of the propriety or impropriety of the language employed by the other. The principal difficulty of translation, consists in adhering to the

idiom and construction of the language ; but this was completely overcome by the different versions flowing originally from the pen of native pundits. Of the importance of this, we have a striking illustration in the simple fact, that though the translation of the New Testament into Bengalee, was not put to press till Dr. Carey had been seven years in the country, he found it necessary in the second edition, to alter almost every verse, in order to render it conformable to the Indian idiom: in the first edition the words were Bengalee; but the idiom was English. But though the missionaries employed, in the first instance, learned natives in making most of the versions, they never printed any translation, until every word, and every mode of construction were carefully examined by themselves, and the whole compared with the Greek and Hebrew Originals. ¹

At Serampore, the Baptist missionaries enjoyed the utmost facilities, not only for translating, but for printing the Holy Scriptures in the Oriental languages. Just at the time when they began to need such assistance, a letter foundery was erected at Calcutta; a circumstance which may be regarded as a singular interposition of Providence in their behalf. No such manufactory had ever existed before in the country, yet without it, the Scriptures could scarcely have been printed to any considerable extent in the native languages. Specimens of the Bengalee character were sent to England, in order to have a fount of types cast in London ; but for persons, however

¹ Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 491 ; vol. vi. Supplement to No. 31. p. 5, 14, 16.—New York Christian Herald, vol. iii. p. 56.—Seventh Memoir of Translations, p. 26.—Letter from Mr. Marshman to Dr. Ryland, January 21, 1810, MS.

ingenious, who were ignorant of the language, to execute them with accuracy, and especially to keep a press constantly at work, at the distance of fifteen thousand miles, would have been extremely difficult, if not wholly impracticable. Happily, however, the ingenious Dr. Wilkins had led the way in this department, and, under the greatest disadvantages, with respect both to materials and workmen, had, by persevering industry, brought the Bengalee character to a high degree of perfection. Soon after the missionaries settled at Serampore, the very artist whom he had employed in that work, and who had in a great measure imbibed his ideas, was providentially brought to them. By his assistance they erected a letter-foundry of their own, and though he died within a few years, yet he had so fully communicated the art to a number of others, that the native workmen were able to carry on the operation of type-founding, and even of cutting the matrices, with a degree of beauty and accuracy, which would not disgrace a European artist. The small expense at which they were able to cast founts of types in the Oriental languages, was such as they themselves had no idea of, till they were convinced of it by accounts from England. A fount of types in the Telinga character, together with the matrices, which would have cost seven hundred pounds in this country, they could execute within their own premises for less than two hundred! ^m

In printing the Scriptures, however, the largeness of the Oriental types was a very material incon-

^m Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. vi.—Memoir relative to the Translations, 1808, p. 18.—Letter from Mr. Marshman to Dr. Ryland, Jan. 21, 1810, MS. p. 12.

venience, and increased greatly the expense of a large edition, notwithstanding the low rate of wages in India. The Bengalee Bible, extended to no less than five octavo volumes, consisting of near 4000 pages. But by a plan suggested by Mr. John Marshman, one of Mr. Marshman's sons, the missionaries, after some years, reduced their Oriental founts, to a size small enough to bring the whole Bible into the compass of a single volume of about 850 pages. By this improvement, the scriptures will not only be reduced into a convenient portable form; but there will be a prodigious saving on paper, printing, and binding, a circumstance of incalculable importance, where so many millions of copies will be necessary before the inhabitants of the East are supplied with the oracles of divine truth.ⁿ

In printing the Chinese Scriptures, the missionaries were no less successful. They at first adopted the Chinese mode of printing with blocks; and in preparing them, they employed some of the natives of Bengal, who had been accustomed, for many years, to cut the patterns of flowers used in printing cottons, and they found them succeed beyond expectation, the delicate workmanship required in that occupation qualifying them extremely well for engraving the stronger lines of the Chinese character. By the suggestion, however, of the same ingenious young man, they afterwards adopted the ordinary method of printing with moveable types, an improvement attended with many and great advantages. The original cost of metal types, was considerably less than that of having the characters cut in wood;

ⁿ Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 287, 314.—Bapt. Mag. vol. ix. p. 75.

and, as in the Chinese language, every letter is a word, the expense of composing was a mere trifle. Metal types possess not only more beauty, but greater durability, and will print a much larger number of copies than wooden blocks, the fine strokes of which, wear comparatively soon, and thus injure the legibility of the impression. By metal types, it was found easy to print on both sides of the leaf, even on common Chinese paper, without injuring, in the least degree, the distinctness or beauty of the impression, a circumstance which must not only reduce the expense of paper one half, but by diminishing the size, facilitate the transmission of copies to the most distant parts of the empire. With respect to the letter press, it is a very extraordinary circumstance, that in an edition of 10,000 copies, the expense of printing the New Testament, was expected to be less than one penny per copy! With cheapness and beauty, this improvement united that great *desideratum* in Chinese printing, the facility of correcting the version to any extent whatever, and even with greater ease than in the Roman character, as when a word required to be altered, it was necessary to change only a single letter. Though stereotype plates are unquestionably preferable for printing a version of the Bible which has acquired the rank of a standard work, and on which no further alteration is to be made; it is obvious that moveable types are incomparably more eligible in printing a translation which is still in its infancy, and is susceptible in every new edition, of material improvement. °

° Period Accounts, vol. iv. p. 54, 372, 376; vol. v. p. 413; vol. vi. p. 327; Supp. to No. 31, p. 2.

To crown the whole, the missionaries erected a paper-mill at Serampore, and introduced considerable improvements in the manufacture of that important article. The materials from which it is made, grow in such abundance in Bengal, as to enable the natives to afford it at one-third of the price of English paper; but their mode of manufacturing it is so imperfect, that the books made of it invariably fall a prey to worms and insects in the space of five or six years. The missionaries, however, introduced such improvements into their manufactory, that the paper made by them remained untouched by worms, when placed for a considerable length of time among paper half devoured by them. Having secured this grand object, they hope, in due time, to make such further improvements, as will be of material importance, as to the cheapness, the colour, and the quality of the paper.^p Such is a general view of the rise, the progress, and the success of that grand and noble plan which the Baptist missionaries formed of translating the Holy Scriptures into the principal languages of the East.

Scarcely, however, had the missionaries issued the original proposals for this mighty undertaking, when an event occurred which threatened the interruption, if not even the subversion of the mission. On the arrival at Calcutta, of Messrs. James Chater and William Robinson, two new missionaries, some demur was made at the police office, as to their being permitted to proceed to Serampore. On Dr. Carey's going to the office, he was informed by one of the magistrates, that they had the following mes-

^p Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 220, 376.

sage to him from Sir George Barlow, the Governor-General, "That as government did not interfere with the prejudices of the natives, it was his request that Mr. Carey and his colleagues would not." This request, as explained by the magistrates, amounted to this, "They were not to preach to the natives, nor to suffer the native converts to preach; they were not to distribute religious tracts, nor suffer their people to distribute them; they were not to send forth the converts, nor to take any step, by conversation or otherwise, for persuading the natives to embrace Christianity." Some of these restrictions, however, were softened in a subsequent conversation between the magistrates and a friend of the missionaries. "It was not meant," they said, "to prohibit Mr. Carey or his brethren from preaching at Serampore, or in their own house at Calcutta, only they must not preach in the Loll Bazar in that City. It was not intended to prevent their circulating the Scriptures, but merely the tracts abusing the Hindoo religion. It was not designed to prohibit the native converts from conversing with their countrymen on the subject of Christianity, only they must not go out under the sanction of the missionaries." This interference on the part of the British government was no doubt occasioned by the alarm which had been excited in the country by the mutiny of Vellore, intelligence of which had just reached Calcutta; but yet it was never insinuated, as, indeed, it could not be, that the labours of the Baptist missionaries had, in the most distant manner, contributed to that melancholy event. On the contrary, the magistrates frankly acknowledged, that "they were well satisfied with their character,

and deportment, and that no complaint had ever been lodged against them." But notwithstanding this, an order of council was passed, commanding Messrs. Chater and Robinson to return to Europe, and refusing the Captain who had brought them out, a clearance for his vessel, unless he took them back with him. In the meanwhile, these two missionaries, had joined their brethren at Serampore, where they were under the protection of the crown of Denmark; and, in consequence of the representations that were made to the British government, they were permitted to remain in the country, and the captain was furnished with the papers necessary for his departure.^a

In this state, matters remained for a considerable time, when a new circumstance occurred, which filled the friends of the mission with deep concern, and furnished its adversaries with a momentary triumph. A tract, which had been printed in Bengalee, and which, in that language, contained nothing offensive, was translated by one of the natives into Persic, and, through the pressure of business, was inadvertently printed, without being first inspected by the missionaries. It happened, unfortunately, that the translator had introduced into this version, several harsh epithets, styling Mahommed a tyrant, &c. which it was alleged would irritate his followers; and though no such effect had been produced, yet a copy of it being conveyed to a person in office under government, the affair was taken up in a serious manner. Dr. Carey was sent for; but, being unacquainted with the circumstances of the

^a Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 276.

case, he could only acknowledge the impropriety of the epithets, and promise to inquire into the cause of their appearance. Before, however, he had time to make this inquiry, proceedings were commenced, which, had they been carried into execution, must have been followed by the ruin of the mission. The governor of Serampore was required to give up the mission press; the missionaries were ordered to Calcutta, and were prohibited from preaching to the natives, and from printing any books designed to promote their conversion to Christianity. In consequence, however, of an explanation, and a respectful memorial to Lord Minto, who was now the Governor-General, the most serious part of the proceedings was formally revoked. On this occasion, two of the missionaries waited on his Lordship, to thank him for the candour with which he had attended to their memorial. To which he replied, that nothing more was necessary than a mere examination of the subject, upon which every thing had appeared in a clear and favourable light. But as all the printed tracts had passed under examination, and as two others, besides the one in Persic, were objected to, the missionaries were required, in future, not to print any tracts, without first submitting a copy of them to the inspection of government.^r

When the British government first interfered with their labours, and began to subject them to restraints in Bengal, the missionaries were induced to turn their attention to other parts of the East.

^r Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 392.—Buchanan's Apology for promoting Christianity in India, p. 74, 127, 139, 172.

They had long before, indeed, formed the design of establishing new stations in different quarters of the country; but except at Dinagepore and Cutwa, they had hitherto made no attempts of that kind. The opposition, however, which was now raised against them in Bengal, again turned their attention to the same important object; and thus a circumstance, which at first threatened the interests, and even the existence of the mission, proved the mean of promoting its extension and success.^s

In November, 1807, Mr. Chater and Felix Carey, after a previous exploratory visit had been made to the Burman empire, proceeded to Rangoon the principal port of that country, and were received in a very friendly manner, not only by the English gentlemen in that city, but even by the Maywoon, or Viceroy of that part of the empire.

Soon after his arrival, Mr. Carey, who had previously paid some attention to the study of medicine, introduced the cow-pox into this quarter of the world. After inoculating a considerable number of persons in Rangoon, he was sent for by the Maywoon himself, to perform the operation on his family. He accordingly proceeded to the palace, and, agreeably to the custom of the country, took off his shoes at the outer steps, before he entered the inner apartment. He now approached the viceroy, as all the officers of government, and others who wait upon him, do, on his hands and knees, and sat down on a carpet near his interpreter. After the governor had made several inquiries con-

^s Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 541; vol. iii. p. 285.

cerning the cow-pox, Mr. Carey vaccinated several of his family.^t

Mr. Carey's medical skill, afterwards gained him high reputation among the Burmans, and gave him considerable influence in the country. One day, as he was riding out to visit his patients, he saw a man suspended on a cross, a mode of punishment common in the Burman empire. Moved with compassion for his sufferings, and understanding that his offence was of a trivial nature, he repaired immediately to the Maywoon's palace, and as he was in the habit of visiting his daughter who was then ill, he had ready access to all the private apartments. The viceroy, indeed, had given orders, that no person should be admitted into his presence, in order that he might not be importuned, in behalf of the criminal, of whom he was determined to make an example. To enter into his presence under such circumstances, was attended with no inconsiderable danger, and might have cost our young missionary his head. He ventured, however, presented his petition, and, according to the Burman custom, insisted on its being granted before he left the palace. The Maywoon refused his request several times, but at last offered to grant it, provided he would promise never again to intercede in behalf of a criminal. This Mr. Carey refused. The Viceroy at last yielded, on condition that he would accompany him to Ava, when he should have occasion to go thither. An order was now given for the release of the culprit, but it had yet to go through all the

^t Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 337, 421, 433, 454.

forms of office. When Mr. Carey at last obtained it from the secretary, he hastened with it to the cross; but on his arrival, not one of the officers would read it, without a reward. In vain did he remonstrate; in vain did he threaten them. He was obliged, at length, to offer them a piece of cloth, to induce them to perform this common act of humanity. The poor wretch was then taken down, and had just strength enough to express his gratitude to his kind deliverer. He had been nailed to the cross about three in the afternoon, and it was now between nine and ten at night, so that he had already been hanging in torture for near seven hours. Mr. Carey now took him to his own house, dressed his wounds, and attended him with the utmost care until his health was restored. He was the only person in Rangoon, it was supposed, who would have succeeded with the Maywoon in such a request; and, as might naturally be expected, his conduct, on this occasion, gained him high renown among the Burmans. The fellow, however, afterwards turned out a bad man: he was again detected in theft, and taken into custody. The agonies of a cross, it seems, were insufficient to reclaim him.^u

In October 1808, Carapeit Chator Aratoon, a proselyte from the Armenian church, was sent into Jessore, in order to take a more immediate oversight of the native converts, who were scattered through different villages in that district, as well as to preach the gospel among the other inhabitants. Here there was a small body of Hindoo dissenters,

^u Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 434, 454; vol. iv. p. 174, 259.—Panoplist, vol. iii. (N. S.) p. 571.

who had been repeatedly visited by the missionaries, and several of these people also came on various occasions to Serampore. A school was erected among them ; and on the Sabbath they assembled together for divine worship ; one of them prayed, and explained the gospel to the others ; but singular as this may seem, there was little appearance of any real disposition among them to embrace Christianity, for though they talked fairly, their conduct was far from being agreeable to their professions. On one occasion, when three of these persons from Luckphool, who had long professed to believe the gospel, but declined making a public profession of it, came on a visit to Serampore, the missionaries in conversing with one of them named Sookur Bishess, warned him of the danger of temporizing in the manner he had hitherto done, telling him, that if he was ashamed of Christ before men, Christ would be ashamed of him before his Father and before his angels. He declared, that he thought there was no way to heaven except by Christ, and that if he apprehended himself near death, he would make an open profession of his name. The missionaries reminded him of the uncertainty of life, and entreated him to consider whether his refusal publicly to profess Christianity, did not proceed from his regarding sin in his heart, and from fearing men more than God. Little did they think that he should prove so awful an example of the truth of these observations. Only six days after his return, he was murdered in his own village by a band of robbers. It seems he had been carrying on a criminal correspondence with a woman, some of whose relations belonged to a gang of thieves, who infested that quarter of

the country, and almost set the magistrates at defiance.* These people had long been determined to take revenge on him, and having heard that he had just returned from Serampore, they imagined he must there have obtained a sum of money, a report which had been circulated, in many instances, with the view of scandalizing the gospel, though nothing could be more contrary to truth.† Thinking this a favourable opportunity for accomplishing their design, they one night beset the house where he and the woman were, and after bringing them out bound, set their habitation on fire, and threatened to throw him into the flames, unless he would discover to them the money they supposed he had concealed. Hoping, probably, to make his escape, he led them to a tree at some distance, and told them to dig beneath it. After digging some time in vain, one of them enraged at his conduct, pierced him through with a spear, and shed out his bowels; another wounded him across the breast, and a third cut off his head. Thus perished this unhappy man, who for several years had possessed sufficient light to discern the falsehood of Mahomedanism and

* Mr. Mardon, speaking of these robbers, mentions a story of one of them, who, on his trial for murder, was asked by the magistrate, "How many men he had killed in his lifetime?" To this the fellow impudently replied, "Ask a fisherman how many fish he has caught in his lifetime!" *Period. Accounts*, vol. iii. p. 320.

† One day a man came to Serampore from Culna, as he had heard that the missionaries gave a thousand rupees and a mistress to every one who lost cast! Reports of the same kind were prevalent in other quarters. *Period. Accounts*, vol. ii. p. 353, 484.

the excellency of Christianity, but yet was held fast by the cords of iniquity to his own destruction.^v

But though none of this sect appear to have embraced the gospel, there was a number of persons from the district of Jessore, who were baptized at Serampore. These, on account of their distance from that place, were formed into a distinct church, consisting of four different branches, about thirty miles distant from each other, the whole comprehending an extent of country little less than a hundred miles in diameter. Partly to relieve the poor members from travelling, partly to extend the gospel more widely, Aratoon went this circuit every month, preaching and administering the Lord's supper at one of the branches on the Sabbath, and then in the course of the week proceeding to the next. The number of persons whom he baptized was considerable; but after labouring about three years with unwearied diligence and zeal, he fell into sin, which rendered it necessary to recall him, and to supply his place by some others of the converts. He afterwards, however, manifested repentance for his conduct, and was sent to labour in a different part of the country.^w

In January 1809, the missionaries opened a spacious chapel in Calcutta, which now became one of their most important spheres of labour, and the chief scene of their success. Since their arrival in India, they had been highly useful, not only to the Hindoos, but to many of the English inhabitants,

^v Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 372, 397, 451; vol. iii. p. 53, 319.

^w Ibid. vol. iii. p. 348, 419, 540; vol. v. p. 105, 142, 190, 535.

several of them persons of considerable rank in life. Some of these were baptized by them ; but a still greater number never embraced their views on the subject of baptism. It does not fall within my design particularly to notice instances of this kind, only it is not unworthy of remark, that the conversion of Europeans must, in various ways, prove a powerful mean of the further extension of Christianity among the natives. In Calcutta, especially, there was a remarkable improvement in respect of religion, partly in consequence of the labours of the Baptists, and partly through the instrumentality of some excellent clergymen of the Church of England, who were settled in that city. When the missionaries first met for prayer in that large and populous place, only three or four attended ; and when they began to preach, there were seldom more than ten. Afterwards, however, the number increased considerably, so that it was deemed expedient to erect a chapel for divine worship ; and though the expense was upwards of thirty thousand rupees, or about four thousand pounds, the greater part of it was raised by private subscription. A second chapel was afterwards erected in a part of the city, about two miles distant. Besides preaching in these places, the missionaries erected several large sheds, covered with mats, in different parts of the city, for divine worship in Bengalee : they also held meetings in the fort, which were attended by considerable numbers of the military, and their wives, many of whom were native women. Even the gaol of Calcutta was regularly visited by them, or some of their fellow-labourers ; and in more than one instance, persons who were there brought under

the sound of the gospel, when they obtained their liberty, made a public profession of their faith in Christ, and adorned that profession by their upright prudent conduct in future life. Besides these public services, prayer meetings were held in private houses, or in the vestry of the chapel every evening of the week, when there was no public worship, small groups assembling one night in one part of the city, and another night in a different quarter. Besides the missionaries, several of whom took up their residence in Calcutta, a number of the converts laboured in that city and its vicinity, with great diligence and zeal in making known the gospel, both to small assemblies, and from house to house. Calcutta, in short, was no longer that seat of irreligion which it was some years before. Infidelity was then the fashion, and men whose minds were too contracted, and too superficial to think for themselves, joined the multitude, were staunch infidels, and made a sport of religion, and the Bible. But now a profession of religion was not uncommon: there were several hundred serious Christians in that city, and among these, were some in the higher, as well as in the lower ranks of society. In respect of religious privileges, Calcutta was now the most favoured place in all India; in no single spot were there so many individuals actively employed in promoting the cause of Christianity, both among natives and Europeans. ^x

In January 1811, Mr. Robinson, accompanied by Mr. and Mrs. Cornish, both members of the Baptist

^x Period. Accounts, vol. iii. 407, 559; vol. v. p. 2, 30, 195, 429, 431, 438, 636.—Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 18.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc., 1819, p. 13.

church, arrived at Barbaree, a place in the neighbourhood of Bootan, where he had previously erected a temporary habitation, and where they intended to stop till they could obtain an opportunity of settling in that country. Three or four nights after their arrival, the watchman awoke Mr. Cornish, about twelve o'clock, and told him that he had observed a man in the garden, who, he thought, was of a suspicious appearance. On receiving this information, Mr. Cornish rose, and apprehending that there was only a single thief, fired his gun, and again lay down to rest. Just, however, as he was falling asleep, he was roused by a band of fifty or sixty robbers, armed with spears, attacking the house. Having still no idea of their number, he aimed a blow at one of the ruffians, with the butt end of his gun, when instantly two spears were pointed at him from the windows, by which he was slightly wounded in the side. Meanwhile, Mr. Robinson, whose room was still unmolested, put on a few clothes, and not knowing the number of the robbers, nor how they were armed, thought of resisting them. He passed them in the dark, and went into the pantry, from whence he took a knife. The robbers, at that instant, set fire to some straw for the sake of light; and observing the knife in his hand, two of them struck at him with their spears. Perceiving by this time, that resistance was vain, he opened the back door, and went to the room of Mr. and Mrs. Cornish, hoping to get them out at the windows. "Come away," said he, "or we shall all be murdered." "Oh! Mr. Robinson, my poor child," cried Mrs. Cornish, "do take it." He took the child, and the others im-

mediately followed. Mrs. Cornish ran toward the stable; and in following her, they found the cook lying on the ground. Thinking he might be asleep, they shook him, but he answered with a deep hollow groan. They now made the best of their way over the ditch which surrounded the premises, into the neighbouring field; and having wandered to a place about a mile distant, sat down on the cold ground, with scarcely any clothing. Even here, however, their fears were not at an end; the shaking of a leaf made them tremble. To increase their apprehensions, Mr. Cornish's little boy was so cold, it was with much difficulty he could be kept from crying, which might have discovered the place of their retreat to the robbers, had they passed in that direction.

As soon as the morning dawned, they returned to their habitation, where they beheld a most heart-rending scene. A few yards from the back door lay the cook, murdered; and at a little distance from the front door, the servant who kept Mr. Cornish's horse. The washerman also was severely wounded, and afterwards died of his wounds. Books, papers, boxes, and other articles lay on the outside of the house, stained with blood; within, all was confusion and destruction. The utensils capable of being broken, were dashed to pieces; the books were thrown in heaps, or scattered about the house; the clothes, except a very few articles, which the robbers had probably dropped in their hurry, were all carried away. The loss, in property of different kinds, was supposed to amount to two hundred and fifty pounds.

Terrible, however, as was this disaster, it was

not unmingled with mercy. Mr. Cornish had a little apprentice girl named Janetta, who, on the first alarm, ran out of the bed-room into the pantry; but the robbers coming into that place, and seeing her, exclaimed, "Here is one of the Sahib's people." One of them searched her breast for money, but finding none, he was about to murder her, upon which, she held up her hands to another of the ruffians, and implored his protection, saying, "I am but a poor little girl; do not kill me." The fellow answered, "Shew us where the money is, and you shall not be hurt." She accordingly directed them to the two bed-rooms, into which they all rushed, when she embraced the opportunity of escaping at the back door, and concealed herself in the store-room. It is also worthy of notice, that Mr. Robinson and his companions, in proceeding from the house, were directed, without any knowledge or design on their part, in the right path. In that corner of the garden where the stable was, there happened to be no gate-way, which there was at every other; and at each of these entrances some of the robbers were placed on guard, so that had they proceeded by any of them, they would, in all probability, have been murdered. Mr. Robinson, indeed, had no fewer than four wounds, one on his right knee, one on his left arm, one on his belly, and one on his breast; the last of them was the worst, and had not the spear struck against the bone, would probably have proved fatal. The wound in Mr. Cornish's side, might also have been mortal, had it not been for a similar circumstance. In this distressed situation, they set off for Dinagore, where they arrived after a journey of three

days, and were most kindly received by their friends in that city, who vied with each other in supplying their wants, and endeavouring to alleviate their distresses. Soon after this terrible disaster at Barbaree, Mr. Robinson once more attempted to enter Bootan. He applied to the Katma of Bhotehaut, for a monshee to teach him the language, and for permission to ascend the hills. But as that officer first referred him to the rajah, and afterwards wrote him a discouraging letter, the mission was for the present relinquished. It appears, however, that the robbers did not escape the hands of justice. Three were hanged, several were condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and to receive thirty-nine lashes with the Kora; and the others to be imprisoned for a time, and to be subjected to the same number of lashes, and all to be employed in hard labour.^y

In March, 1812, an event occurred which retarded for sometime the progress of the missionaries in that vast undertaking, which constitutes so prominent a feature of their labours, the publication of the Holy Scriptures in the languages of the East. One evening, about six o'clock, a fire was discovered in the printing office at Serampore, in a large range of shelves, containing English, Patna, and other paper. At the time it was perceived, there were only one or two servants remaining in the printing office. Mr. Ward, who was in an adjoining room, immediately ran to the spot where the fire was burning, and called for water to quench it; but the flames

^y Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 266, 406. vol. vi. p. 177.—Circular Letters, vol. iv.

had already reached the middle of the shelves, and resisted all the efforts that could now be made by the people who were at hand. In a few minutes the office was so filled with smoke, that Mr. Ward was almost suffocated in endeavouring to get out, and one of the servants who was with him, actually fell down senseless before he could reach the door, and was saved from death only by being dragged into the open air. All the window shutters, twenty-four in number, were fastened with iron bars, placed across, and pinned within, so that it was extremely difficult to force them open. They were advised, indeed, to keep all the doors and windows shut, in order, if possible, to smother the flames; but yet Mr. Ward ascended the roof, pierced it above the place where the fire was raging, and poured in water in great abundance. This plan so far succeeded, that four hours after the fire commenced, it was confined to the shelves under which it originally began, and even there it was greatly diminished. The quantity of water which was thrown in where it was practicable, was very great. In the adjoining press-room, the water was as high as the ankles, and the steam and smoke which filled the office were so thick, that a candle would not burn in it, even for a few seconds. The heat also was so intense, that it was impossible for a person to remain a moment within the walls. Some, at this time, violently urged the opening of all the windows; but as it would have taken hours to do this, so as to get out the tables, frames for the cases, and other utensils, and as the opening of only one or two would give fresh vigour to the flames, which were now languid and confined to the lower

part of the office, and would even endanger the whole of the adjoining buildings, they objected to it. This, however, did not prevent some injudicious but well-meaning friends from breaking open one of the windows, opposite the fire, while Marshman and Ward were busy in other places. In a few minutes, Mr. Marshman discerned through the cloud of steam and smoke, a flake of fire blown into the middle of the office. He instantly conveyed the alarming intelligence to Mr. Ward, who was superintending the pouring of water through the roof on the shelves. Mr. Ward now ran to the room at the entrance of the office, and the most remote from the fire, and by the active assistance of several European friends, cut open the two windows, and dragged out his writing table, which contained the deeds of the premises, as well as many other valuable writings; and going from thence to the opposite room, he cut open the windows there also, and dragged out the enclosed shelves, containing their accompts from the beginning of the mission. This last attempt was made in the very face of the fire, and before it was fully accomplished, the whole building, two hundred feet in length, by forty in breadth, was in flames. About midnight the roof fell in. Every exertion was made to prevent the flames from spreading to the adjoining buildings, and though some of them were not more than twelve feet from the office, yet providentially they escaped the conflagration. The wind, which blew pretty hard an hour or two before, being now calm, the fire ascended in a straight line, like the flame of a candle on a table, and happily terminated with the printing office, with-

out any life being lost, or any person materially injured. After it was evident that it would spread no further, all the members of the mission family, old and young, sat down in front of the office, and continued till near two in the morning, pouring their griefs into each other's bosom. But though the danger was now over, the fire continued burning among the ruins for nearly two days.

The loss which the missionaries sustained by the fire was immense, whether we consider the number or the value of the articles that were destroyed. To enumerate them would be endless, but we may mention among others, the whole furniture of the printing office; founts of types in seventeen different languages; all the cases, frames and other utensils which accompanied them; about fifteen hundred reams of paper; upwards of fifty-five thousand sheets printed off, but not folded; a considerable number of books printed by them; and some other books, to the amount of five thousand rupees; manuscripts to the value of seven thousand rupees, among which were a Sungskrit Dictionary, in five folio volumes; all the materials for a Polyglot Dictionary, of the languages derived from the Sungskrit, in collecting which, Dr. Carey had been employed for many years; part of a Bengalee Dictionary; the whole of a Telinga grammar; part of a grammar of the Shikh language; three valuable manuscript copies of the text of the Ramayuna; and as much of the translation of that work as had cost Dr. Carey and Mr. Marshman a whole year to prepare for the press; part of the translation of the Scriptures in several languages; and the whole correspondence of the missionaries so far as it was pre-

served from the commencement of their labours. The building was estimated to be worth about eight thousand rupees, and the whole loss amounted to at least sixty thousand, or L.7500 Sterling, exclusive of the paper belonging to others.

Such was the immense loss which the missionaries sustained by this terrible disaster; but yet in the midst of judgment, they had to sing of mercy. Had the wind, which at that season is often violent, been high, while a column of fire upwards of a hundred and fifty feet in length, and about forty in breadth, was burning with great fury, the other premises, the farthest of which was scarcely fifty feet distant, and the nearest not thirty, would inevitably have fallen a prey to the flames. But these buildings which had cost upwards of fifty thousand rupees, including the schools, the library, the museum, the public hall, and all the dwellings of the missionaries, providentially escaped the conflagration. Though the door which divided the press-room from the other part of the printing office was burnt, and the beams of the press-room scorched, yet such was the activity of the people in pulling out the presses, that they were all saved. The paper mill also, with the matrices, moulds, and apparatus for type-founding, was in a place adjoining the printing office, which the fire did not enter, and thus they were happily preserved. Though every pound of types was melted down, yet the steel punches for the various founts in the languages of India, which were in a box in the midst of the flames, were neither burnt, nor lost, nor injured. These, which it had cost ten years to fabricate, and which it would have required other six to replace,

were found the next day amidst the burning ruins. About eight thousand pounds of metal were also dug out of the ruins, and thus they were enabled to begin immediately the re-casting of the types in the different languages.

On the second day after the fire, the missionaries, with that energy and zeal for which they are so distinguished, set the type-founders and pundits to work in a large building, which had been let for several years, and the keys of which had been given up only a few days before. The casting of types was resumed in a fortnight after the fire; and in the course of a few months, no less than eight of the versions were again in the press. As soon as the disaster was known, the most liberal contributions were made by the friends of religion to repair the loss. In Bengal about a thousand pounds were immediately contributed for this purpose: from America were remitted fifteen hundred pounds: in Britain no less than L.10,611 : 1 : 11, were raised in about seven or eight weeks after the news were received, a striking proof of the deep interest which the Christian public take in this important mission. Besides these large sums, a considerable quantity of paper was voted by the British and Foreign Bible Society, to repair the loss of that valuable article.^z *

^z Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 452, 465, 497, 500, 502, 518, 533, 550. vol. v. p. 147.—Circular Letters, vol. v. p. 146. vol. vi. p. 4, 6.—Report of the Edinburgh Bible Society, 1813, p. 4.

* The facility with which the loss occasioned by the fire at Serampore was defrayed, is the more striking, when we contrast it with the difficulty which the Baptist Missionary Society

In March, 1813, Messrs. Robinson, Lawson, and Johns, the two last of whom had lately arrived at Serampore, were ordered by government to return to England, by the fleet then under despatch, because they had come to India without the permission of the Court of Directors, which had in fact been hitherto the case with all the missionaries. In consequence, however, of a representation to Lord Minto, the Governor-General, that Mr. Lawson was preparing a fount of Chinese types, and that his removal would materially impede the completion of it, he obtained liberty to remain; but no attention was paid to the applications in favour of Mr. Johns. On the contrary, the order for his return was peremptorily confirmed, and he was given to understand that unless he immediately took his passage, he would be apprehended and carried on board the ship. He of course submitted to the will of government, and returned to England, after having spent only a few months in India.^a

With respect to Mr. Robinson, he had sailed for Java before the order for his return to England was received, with the view of commencing a mission on that Island. It was signed the very day he embarked; but it did not reach Serampore till a week

^a Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 198.

experienced, in raising the little money which was necessary in the early period of its labours. When the late Mr. Fuller, its able and indefatigable Secretary, engaged in collecting for it, he at first met with many repulses. Even in London, he experienced so cold a reception, that he sometimes retired from the more public streets into the narrow lanes, that he might not be seen by the passengers to weep over his little success. *Ryland's Life of Fuller*, p. 248.

after, when he was safely out at sea. He had sometime before obtained permission from Lord Minto to proceed to Java, yet so determined was the government to carry their proscription into effect, that the order was sent after him to that island. Soon after his arrival, he was accordingly required to state by what authority he had come to Java; but by some means or other, he was allowed to remain on the island. ^b *

^b Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 225, 385.

* It is not unworthy of observation, that though at least eleven missionaries from different Societies, were about this time ordered to leave India, yet Mr. Johns was the only one who was actually sent home, and even he afterwards returned to the East, though not in the character of a missionary. These no doubt, were painful occurrences, and must have been peculiarly trying to the missionaries themselves; yet we cannot help considering them, as a singular interposition of Providence, in behalf of Christianity in India. Though the Supreme Government in Bengal, had on former occasions manifested considerable hostility to the labours of Christian missionaries, (Buchanan's Apology for promoting Christianity in India, p. 64, 74, 149.) yet the spirit of opposition never rose to such a height as at this time. It seemed as if the Government, at the head of which was Lord Minto, was determined that no new missionaries should settle in the country. The renewal of the East India Company's charter, however, was at this very period under the consideration of Parliament, and intelligence of these proceedings arrived just in time to stimulate the friends of religion, to zealous and energetic exertions, for procuring the introduction of clauses into the Bill, securing liberty to Christian missionaries to proceed to India, and the protection of government, so long as they conducted themselves with prudence and propriety. So deep was the interest which this measure excited in the country, that petitions were poured in to both houses of Parliament, from every quarter of the United Kingdom. They amounted to no fewer than nine hundred and eight, and had a

In August 1814, Mr. Felix Carey embarked at Rangoon, on board the Viceroy's pleasure boat, with the view of proceeding to Ava, the capital of the Burman empire. He had sometime before been called to court, to inoculate the younger branches of the royal family; but as he unfortunately had no vaccine matter, he was sent back to Rangoon, in a gilded boat, after being treated with distinguished honours, and a ship was ordered to convey him to Bengal, in order to bring it from that country. Having now returned, he proceeded to join a brig which was waiting in the Great River, to convey him to the Capital, and after some days he reached her in safety. Scarcely, however, had she sailed, when she was suddenly overtaken by a squall, while she was making way against a very strong and rapid current. In a moment she upset, and immediately filled with water. At that instant, Mr. Carey rushed into the cabin, to rescue if possible his wife and children, and the other females. No sooner had he entered, than the impetus of a stream from without, closed the door upon him. Nothing seemed now before him but a watery grave, as the flood gushed in upon him from all

powerful influence in accomplishing the object in view. (Evan. Mag. vol. xxi. p. 321.) Had it not, however, been for these arbitrary proceedings of the Government in India at this very period, it is not probable, that the object would have excited so deep and universal an interest in the country, and at any rate, the advocates of the measure in Parliament, would not have possessed so irrefragable an argument for the necessity of the interference of the legislature. In the House of Commons, it met with keen opposition, particularly from some gentlemen who had been in India; but yet it was carried by a majority; and in the House of Lords, it passed without opposition.

sides. During these critical moments, he heard the screams of his wife and children, who were separated from him by a canvass screen; but he could find no access to them, till an opening was made by the water. He then sprung forward and handed them, together with the nurse and two little girls, out at the cabin-window, upon the broadside of the vessel. Still he had some hope that the ship would float, but no sooner had he himself got out at the window, than she sunk with them. Instantly they were all out of their depth, amidst a rapid current and a heavy sea. His wife and infant child clung to him; but as he sunk, she quitted her hold, and he saw her no more. He once more rose to the surface and thought he observed his little boy floating at a distance: the heads of some of the crew he saw in various directions. He now gave himself up for lost, every wave rolling over his head. Having some way or other, made a shift to tear off his shirt, and to disentangle himself of his pantaloons, he floated ashore, though not without great difficulty. On reaching the land he found himself so exhausted, that he could not stand, but providentially one of the Lascars, who had floated ashore at the same place, drew him up into the grass jungle, where he sat, up to the breast in water, till a boat came to his assistance. As soon as he was somewhat recovered, he made every inquiry about his wife and children; but could learn nothing of them, except that one of his servants with the officer, had picked up the body of his little girl, and buried it in a neighbouring jungle. Thus, in one hour, this young man was deprived of his wife, his little boy, and his infant daughter,

besides whom, there were seven others who lost their lives in this sad catastrophe.

In a state of mind hardly to be described, Mr. Carey proceeded next day in a gilded boat for Ava; and after a voyage of about four weeks, he reached that city. Here he met with a highly favourable reception from the King and the Prince, who appeared to sympathize with his misfortune, and made him the most liberal compensation for his loss. He was now, however, called to sustain a severer trial of his Christian principles, than that which he had so lately endured. His Majesty appointed him Ambassador to Calcutta, in order to settle some differences which subsisted between the two governments; and conferred on him the equipage of a prince, consisting of a red umbrella, with an ivory top, and a red fringe, such as is worn only by the sons of the King; a beetel box, a gold lepheck cup, and a sword of state. He also received by his Majesty's special command, two gold swords, a gold umbrella, and considerable sums of money.^c

Dazzled by the glittering vanities of this world, Mr. Carey now relinquished the humble office of a missionary, and proceeded to Calcutta in the high character of Ambassador from the Court of Burmah, to the British government. There he lived in the highest style of Oriental splendour, to the great grief of his venerable father. His connexion, however, with the Burman court, was of short duration, and he soon after entered into the service of an eastern Rajah. He afterwards returned to Seram-

^c Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 380, 383, 402, 485; vol. vi. p. 151.—Circular Letters, vol. viii. p. 77.

pore, and was employed in the printing office, and in translating and compiling various works of a literary nature. Such was the melancholy close of Mr. Carey's labours in the Burman empire; but the mission was not, in consequence of this, abandoned, as Mr. Judson, a missionary from America, had, in the meanwhile, settled at Rangoon, and he was afterwards joined by others from the Baptist churches in that country. During his residence in Burmah, Mr. Carey compiled a Grammar of the language, collected materials for a Dictionary, and translated some books of the New Testament. He never preached, nor made other attempts for the conversion of the natives to Christianity; but this arose, probably in part, from apprehension of the jealousy of government, and from the distracted state of the country.^d

In November 1816, the missionaries at Serampore began an institution for the support and encouragement of native schools. In Bengal, and other parts of India, a very small proportion of the inhabitants are taught to read. All the women, whatever be their rank and character, are, with very few exceptions, excluded from this privilege by immemorial custom, a barrier stronger than law; and even among the men, there is hardly one in a hundred who is able to read a common letter. The knowledge they acquire in their wretched schools, is so inconsiderable as scarcely to deserve the name. Utterly destitute of useful elementary works in the common dialects, they learn merely to trace the characters of the alphabet, to write a few names,

^d New York Christian Herald, vol. iii. p. 292.—Reports of the Baptist Board for Foreign Missions, p. 105.—Miss. Herald, p. 41.

and as their highest accomplishment, to copy an ill-written letter. Printed books they had none, except such as were circulated by the missionaries: of manuscripts they have scarcely one in prose; but even if they possessed thousands, their ignorance of their own language, would render the perusal of of an inaccurate, ill-written manuscript, too formidable a task to be often attempted by them. Thus, with a regular and copious language of their own, almost all who are ignorant of Sungskrit, (which is not understood by one in ten thousand,) are in a state of ignorance scarcely exceeded by those barbarous hordes which have no written character, while, in consequence of other causes, they are sunk below the most savage tribes in sensuality and vice. Even among the Brahmins and the other higher casts, there are vast numbers who are quite illiterate. ^e

The extension of the blessings of education among the Hindoos, was a primary object of attention with the missionaries from the period of their arrival in India. In the stations which they formed, schools, wherever it was practicable, constituted an essential part of the establishment; but as most of these were not only taught by native teachers, but were conducted according to the native plan, they soon perceived that unless material improvements were introduced into them, little would be effected by them. On the subject of education, the Serampore missionaries display not only very enlightened and comprehensive, but often very original and ingenious views. With the design of introducing the

^e Hints relative to Native Schools, p. 8, 35.—First Report of the Institution for the encouragement of Native Schools, p. 51.—Period. Accounts, vol. iii. p. 446.

system of Bell and Lancaster, improved and adapted by themselves to the circumstances of the country, they instituted at that place, a Normal school, in which teachers were initiated in the principles and practice of the new plan of education, and were qualified for undertaking the charge of schools in the surrounding villages. This scheme was attended with success far beyond their most sanguine expectations. Notwithstanding the violent prejudices of the Hindoos against every deviation from the beaten track of antiquity, yet no sooner was the design of the missionaries known, than the inhabitants of the neighbouring towns and villages petitioned them to establish schools among them. Many places sent deputations to Serampore, expressing their anxiety for a school, and presenting the man they had chosen as the teacher, that he might be initiated in the Normal school, in the new system of education. In some instances, respectable natives offered houses, and even their family temples for the children to assemble in; in other cases, the inhabitants began to erect schoolhouses, in the expectation of their request being granted. Never, indeed, had the missionaries seen the listless Hindoos express so much pleasure relative to any thing, as with respect to the schools.^f

In these schools, the children were not only taught reading, writing, and arithmetic; but with the view of giving enlargement to their minds, they were instructed in the more popular parts of Geo-

^f Hints relative to Native Schools, p. 10, 19, 31.—Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 332.—First Report of the Institution for Native Schools, p. 3, 17.—Second Report of the Calcutta Baptist Missionary Society, p. 21.

graphy, Astronomy, and Natural Philosophy ; in the leading facts of History, and the most important principles of morality, so that the system of education pursued in them, was incomparably superior to any thing known in the Hindoo schools. Christian instruction, however, formed no part of the plan, as the missionaries were apprehensive that this would awaken the jealousy of the natives, and probably defeat the whole scheme. The extension, however, of a correct and enlarged system of education among the Hindoos, can scarcely fail, by the improvement which it makes on their minds, and the access which it gives them to books, to prove highly favourable to the future progress of the gospel through the country. §

It was pleasing to witness the little influence which the cast had in checking the extension of education among the Hindoos. Among the scholars were a great number of Brahmin children, many of whom were already invested with the poita. To see youths honoured with the sacred thread, mingling with their schoolfellows in their various exercises, and in numerous instances, giving place, without chagrin, to their superior merit, was highly gratifying. No wish was ever expressed by them to be formed into separate classes, nor was there a single instance of a Brahmin youth leaving school in disgust, because he was associated with Soodras. To the institution for supporting these schools, not only many European gentlemen, but numbers of the opulent Hindoos themselves were subscribers, so

§ Hints relative to Native Schools, p. 11.—First Report of the Institution for Native Schools, p. 20.

little jealousy did they shew of the operations of the missionaries.^h

But though the plan succeeded beyond the most sanguine expectations of the missionaries, they, after sometime, made a considerable alteration upon it: instead of wholly supporting schools among the Hindoos, they resolved to aim at the improvement of the schools which were already established by the natives themselves. The Hindoos, in general, are not averse to paying the teachers' stipend in their own schools; and it is obvious that the benefits of education can be extended throughout the whole of a country, only by nourishing principles of this description, there being no instance in which the whole population of a country has been educated gratuitously, any more than fed and clothed gratuitously. The missionaries accordingly offered to the teachers of these indigenous schools, that if they would adopt the system of education which they recommended, and use the school books which they had provided, they would allow them a small sum monthly, for as many of the scholars as made certain degrees of proficiency. With these proposals the teachers most readily complied, and, in a short time, about a hundred schools, containing, it was supposed, near eight thousand children, were placed under the care of the missionaries. These schools promised, in fact, to be not less useful than those which were wholly supported by the missionaries, while, at the same time, a much greater number of them could be maintained at the same

^h First Report of the Institution for Native Schools, p. 12, 18, 43, 65.—Second Report of do., p. 63, 66.

expense. When the teachers perceived that their remuneration from month to month, depended on the proficiency of their scholars, and that a school could at any time be laid aside without any pecuniary loss, which was not the case with those that were wholly supported by the Institution, they had a double excitement to activity and diligence. Besides, this plan possessed the advantage of diffusing instruction more widely among the different classes of society. In the schools wholly supported by the Institution, the bulk of the children consisted of the lower orders of society, as a rich Hindoo had little inducement to send his son to a charity school, unless on account of the superior nature of the tuition afforded by it. But the plan of encouraging indigenous schools, brings new and important ideas before youth of all ranks, the rich as well as the poor, and though it would be wrong to deny the latter the opportunity of obtaining superior knowledge, it would certainly be no less absurd, to exclude the higher orders, who have the greatest influence in society, especially as they are nearly as destitute of sound information as the very lowest classes.ⁱ

Besides instituting schools for boys, the missionaries at some of the stations, attempted to establish schools for girls, under the superintendence of native school-mistresses, a measure which was esteemed a great novelty in Hindostan. In carrying on these, they had greater difficulties to encounter, than in carrying on the others. One school was

ⁱ Second Report of Native Schools, p. 45.—Third Report of do., p. 7, 11, 21.

broken up, because, after attending for sometime, it was discovered, no money was given to the children for their trouble. In another instance, it was said, that as soon as the girls had received a competent education, they were to be kidnapped, tied up in bags, and shipped for England. In consequence of these reports, the girls fled as if a tiger had been pursuing them. But though the education of females is carried on, on a limited scale, and though the prejudices against it are very strong in Hindostan, we trust these will ultimately be overcome. Even already some Hindoo gentlemen did not scruple to say, that perhaps girls may be able to learn, and that instructing them may be a good thing, which may be considered as no small acknowledgment from the lips of a Hindoo. Such views, however, were far from general. The tendency of idolatry to harden the heart, and extinguish every benevolent feeling, was strikingly exemplified, in the manner in which a Brahmin received the proposal of one of the missionaries, to establish a school for the instruction of females. "What have we to do with them," he carelessly replied, "let them remain as they are." When he was reminded that they, as well as the other sex, had souls which must be saved or lost for ever, he answered: "They do not know how to go to heaven; but they know how to go to hell, and let them go."^k

Besides the schools under the care of the Institution which we have already mentioned, there were others at most of the stations where the mis-

^k Miss. Herald, 1821, p. 45, 69. Ibid. 1822, p. 20, 91.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc., 1820, p. 17.

sionaries had settled, both on the continent of India, and in the islands. We are unable to state with precision, the number of children at the whole of the schools connected with the missionaries; but we apprehend, they can scarcely be fewer than eleven or twelve thousand. In the schools of the Institution for the support of native schools, Christian instruction constituted no part of the system of education: but in many of the other schools, the scriptures were introduced without exciting any alarm among the natives. The appearance of the Benevolent Institution of Calcutta, was in some respects peculiarly striking. Here was an assemblage of Europeans, Anglo-Indians, Hindoos, Mussulmen, Malays, Sumatrans, Chinese, Africans, Abyssinians, Jews, Catholics, Armenians. Such a variety of casts collected together, formed a novel and interesting spectacle, and considering their extreme poverty, they made a more decent appearance than the children in general, who attend similar schools in England, nor were they much behind them in their progress and deportment. The history of some of these children was interesting, particularly of one from Sumatra. He was a lad of about twelve years of age, whom Captain W—— rescued from circumstances singularly shocking to humanity. Having had occasion to touch at that part of the coast of Sumatra, which is inhabited by the Battas, this gentleman one day observed three boys confined in a wooden cage; and on inquiring into the reason of this, he learned that they were fattening like hogs for the knife of the butcher. He instantly agreed to purchase them, and for the sum of one hundred and fifty

dollars, he had the high gratification of rescuing them from the hands of these monsters of cruelty, and carrying them on board his ship. One of them, the Captain, after his arrival in Calcutta, sent to the charity school, and placed him as a boarder with the principal teacher. The lad had picked up a few words of broken English; but appeared to have no idea of any other language. His articulation was at first extremely rude; and it was exceedingly difficult to make him understand the most simple things, or even to persuade him to touch food in the presence of any of the family. He was very diligent, however, in learning to read, and seldom parted with his book, even when out of school; he always, however, preferred the darkest and most retired corners of the house: there he shut himself up for many hours together, allowing himself only sufficient light to see his letters. In the course of a few months, this little savage learned to read the New Testament fluently, and to write a legible hand; but his pronunciation still remained defective.¹

In October 1817, Mr. De Bruyn, one of the converts who had laboured for several years with considerable success in Chittagong, a district to the south-east of Bengal, near the borders of the Burman Empire, was murdered by a young man who had been his interpreter to the Mugs, and whom he had treated as his own son. This youth, the son of a Frenchman, and of a Burman woman, had, it was hoped, received some benefit from the

¹ Period. Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 20.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc., 1822, p. 16.—Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 208.

instructions of Mr. De Bruyn; but of late he had given him much concern by his improper conduct, which on one occasion, induced his friend and instructor to reprove him with more than ordinary severity. Inflamed with rage, the headstrong youth seized a knife, and plunged it into the side of the missionary. After languishing about a day, Mr. De Bruyn breathed his soul into the hands of his Saviour and his God. Previous to his departure, he sent a message to the local magistrate, excusing the rash deed of his murderer, and entreating that he might not be punished, thus exhibiting a pleasing evidence of the influence of Christian principle, in leading him to forgive his enemies, though at the same time, it is unquestionable, that in a case of murder, the law ought to be allowed to take its course.^m

In August 1818, the missionaries at Serampore instituted a college for communicating to native youths, a higher order of education, than could be given them in the ordinary schools. In this institution, it was intended that the Sungskrit, the Arabic, the Chinese, and the English languages should be taught, and such other languages, particularly those of India, as might be judged most useful; that instruction should be given in the various shastras of the Hindoos, and in the doctrines which form the basis of the Pouranic, and the Buddhist systems of theology, including the system of Hindoo law; in the elementary principles of European science, including medicine; and in the principles of Christianity. The college was intended not

^m Circular Letters, vol. x. p. 201.—Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 268, 308.

merely for Christian youth: any native youth, whether Brahmin, Soodra, or Mussulman, might be admitted into it, while at the same time, no student should be constrained to attend any lecture, to which he felt the least objection on a religious account, nor should any thing be enjoined, which infringed in the slightest degree, on the cast or religion of any of the youths. The primary object of the college, was the education of young natives of talents and piety, for the Christian ministry, as the missionaries, though they had employed the converts to a considerable extent, in making known the gospel to their countrymen, found them in general, but very imperfectly qualified for the work; and yet it is evident that if Christianity is ever to be extensively propagated throughout India, this must be by the instrumentality not of European, but of native missionaries. Besides the missionaries hoped that natives of piety might not only be prepared for the Christian ministry; but, that some of them, after acquiring a knowledge of Sungskrit, as well as of Hebrew and Greek, may be employed as translators of the Scriptures into their native languages. It was further intended, that a respectable, though inferior education should be given to others of the children of converted natives, so as to qualify them for situations in life, by which, they may procure a decent livelihood for themselves, and their families. By this means, some compensation may be made to their parents and themselves, for the deprivations to which they have been subjected by the loss of cast, and thus will be wiped away the dreadful reproach, common throughout every part of India, that the Feringas, *i. e.* the Christians, are sunk to the low-

est stage of ignorance and vice. Finally, by the admission of heathen youth to all the lectures and exercises, general knowledge will be diffused throughout the community, a measure which may be productive of the greatest advantages to India, and may pave the way for the ultimate triumph of divine truth among the Hindoos. Such were the enlightened and extended views of the Serampore missionaries, and we trust, that the success of this institution, will justify the high, yet not irrational hopes they formed of it.ⁿ *

ⁿ College for the instruction of Asiatic Christian and other youth, Serampore, p. 6.—First Report of the College, for Asiatic Christian and other youth, p. 4.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 54.

* The subject of education is one which of late years has excited much attention in India, and that not merely among Europeans, but among the natives.

In August 1816, a college was established in Calcutta by a number of the Hindoos under their own management, the primary object of which, is the tuition of the sons of respectable natives in the English and Indian languages, and in the literature and science of Europe and Asia.

In September 1817, the Calcutta School Book Society was instituted, the design of which is the publication of works suitable for schools and seminaries of learning. This institution in about four years, printed no fewer than 127,000 School Books, in various languages, all of them communicating useful knowledge.

In September 1818, the Calcutta School Society was instituted, with a view to the more general diffusion of education throughout India. This Society, like the Serampore Missionaries, has directed much of its attention to the improvement of indigenous schools, and by its last report, it had under its care 86 of these schools, containing about 2800 scholars. Both these institutions are patronized not only by Europeans, but by

In connexion with this account of the plans of education, pursued by the Baptist Missionaries, we may notice the progress which they made in the translation of the Scriptures, which may be considered as the grand characteristic feature of this interesting mission. Three or four of the versions, for which they originally issued proposals, they did not execute; but instead of these, they undertook others into a number of new languages, making the whole amount to upwards of forty, an undertaking unparalleled in ancient or modern times.

In 1822, the state of the several versions, so far as they had proceeded at press, was as follows:

natives of the first respectability. Reports of their operations have been extensively circulated through the country, and the native rulers of a large and distant province, lately applied to the Governor-General for aid, in establishing schools in their respective states. Societies of a similar nature, have also been established at Madras and Bombay.—*Miss. Reg.* vol. v. p. 297. vol. vii. p. 108, 224. vol. ix. p. 51. vol. x. p. 66.—*Miss. Herald*, 1822, p. 76.—*Quarterly Chronicle, or Transactions of the London Miss. Society*, vol. ii. p. 11.—*Third Report of the Calcutta School Book Society*, p. 52, 56.

THE WHOLE BIBLE PRINTED.

- 1 Bengalee,
- 2 Chinese, by Dr. Marshman,
- 3 Hindee,
- 4 Mahratta,
- 5 Orissa,
- 6 Sungskrit.

THE NEW TESTAMENT PRINTED.

- 1 Affghan or Pushtoo,
- 2 Assamese,
- 3 Bhugelkhund,
- 4 Bikaner,
- 5 Cashmere,
- 6 Guzzerattee,
- 7 Hurotee,
- 8 Kanoje,
- 9 Kunkuna,
- 10 Marwar,
- 11 Mooltanee or Wuch,
- 12 Nepalese,
- 13 Sikh or Punjabee,
- 14 Telinga or Teloo goo.

The Old Testament is *printing* in some of these languages, and *translating* into others.

THE NEW TESTAMENT PRINTING.

- 1 Bhutnere,
- 2 Dogura or Palpa,
- 3 Gudwal,
- 4 Hindostanee, by Mr. Chamberlaine,
- 5 Jumboo,
- 6 Khassee,
- 7 Khosul,
- 8 Kumaon,
- 9 Kurnata,
- 10 Mugud,
- 11 Munipoora,
- 12 Oojein or Malwa,
- 13 Shreenagore. °

° Seventh Memoir of Translations, p. 1.—Period. Accounts of Serampore Mission, p. 37.—Miss. Herald, 1823, p. 3.

It is a remarkable fact, that most of these versions, were executed under the superintendence of a single individual, DR. CAREY. He also undertook the superintendence of translations into several other languages, some of which were in part printed. Versions of the New Testament were also undertaken by Mr. Chamberlaine, in the Bruj Bhasa, a dialect of Hindostanee; by Mr. Siers, into the Portuguese of Ceylon; by Mr. Robinson, into Malay; by Mr. Bruckner, into Javanese; by Mr. Chater, and Mr. Felix Carey, into Burman. Of late, however, the Baptist missionaries have been obliged to discontinue no fewer than fourteen of the versions which they had undertaken, principally through the inadequacy of their funds. Some of those in which considerable progress had been made, were transferred to other labourers, whose local circumstances may enable them to complete the work. Others were into dialects which were principally spoken in the north-west parts of the peninsula, where, at present, there could be little opportunity of circulating the Scriptures with much prospect of success, as no missionaries have as yet been sent thither. ^p

Besides the versions of the Scriptures executed by the Baptist missionaries themselves, they were employed to print the three first Gospels in Telinga, by the Rev. Augustus Desgranges, a missionary at Vizagapatnam: the Four Gospels in Persic, by the Rev. L. Sebastiani, a Catholic priest, many years

^p Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 10, 22, 42.—Ibid. 1820, p. 6.—Bapt. Mag. vol. x. p. 73.—Period. Accounts, vol. vi. p. 68.—Seventh Memoir of Translations, p. 11.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 5.

resident at the Court of Persia; the New Testament in Hindostanee, translated by Mirza Fitrut, under the Superintendence of Rev. Henry Martyn, a clergyman of the Church of England; the New Testament in Tamul, for the use of the Christian converts on the coast of Coromandel; the New Testament in Cingalese, for the inhabitants of Ceylon; the Old and New Testament in the Malay language, and the Roman character, for the natives of Amboyna and the adjacent islands; the Old and New Testament in the Malay language, and the Arabic character, for Java and its dependancies; and the Old and New Testament in Armenian, for the Christians of that communion in the East. Through the skill and disinterestedness of the Baptist missionaries, the printing of books in the Oriental languages, can be executed at Serampore on much lower terms than at any ordinary press either in India or Europe.^a

Besides the translations of the Scriptures, and several hundred thousand Tracts in various languages, there issued from the mission press at Serampore, many other works of a literary nature, which form a stupendous monument of the talents, the diligence, and the zeal of the missionaries, and which will be of essential service to their successors in learning the languages, the principles, and the manners of the natives, and thus may be of essential service in furthering the gospel in the East.^{r*}

^a Rep. Bib. Soc. 1812, p. 12, 14.—App. p. 75.—Ibid. 1815, p. 38.—App. p. 40, 43.—Ibid. 1816.—App. p. 27.—Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 312.

^r Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 111; vol. vi. p. 328.

* The following is a List of the principal works of a literary

While the Baptist missionaries were so diligent in these various literary labours, they were not less active in establishing stations in different parts of

nature, which have been written, translated, or edited by the Baptist missionaries, or the members of their family.

SUNGSKRIT.

A Grammar of the Sungskrit Language, by William Carey, D. D. Professor of the Sungskrit, Bengalee, and Mahratta Languages, in the College of Fort William, 1168 pages, quarto.

A Grammar of the Sungskrit Language, by the Rev. William Yates, one of the missionaries at Calcutta.

A Vocabulary of the Sungskrit Language, by the Rev. W. Yates, Calcutta.

The Ramayuna, in the Sungskrit Character, with an English Translation, and Notes illustrative of the Poem, by William Carey, D. D. and Joshua Marshman, D. D. 4 vols. quarto.

The Moogdhubodha of Vopa-Deva, the Sungskrit Grammar chiefly used in Bengal.

The Sonkyn Pruvuchunu Bhashyu, a Hindoo Philosophical work, edited by William Carey, D. D.

An Astronomical Book for Schools in Sungskrit, by Mr. John Marshman.

BENGALÉE.

A Grammar of the Bengalee Language, for the use of the Students in the College of Fort William, by William Carey, D. D. octavo.

A Dictionary of the Bengalee Language, by William Carey, D. D. in 2 volumes, quarto.

Colloquies, Bengalee and English, octavo.

Hitopudesha, or Salutory Counsels, octavo.

Butrisha Singhasuna, or the Throne with thirty-two Images, octavo.

Toota Nameh, or Tales of a Parrot, octavo.

The First Book of the Muhabharuta, 4 vols. duodecimo.

The Ramayuna, 6 vols. duodecimo.

the Continent of India, and even in some of the islands; but as the operations in all of them were nearly the same, consisting principally in preaching

Lippi Mala, or the Bracelet of Writing, octavo.

The History of Raja Chundra Raya, containing his Correspondence with the English Government after the Battle of Plassey, octavo.

The Life of Raja Pretapadittu, octavo.

The Pilgrim's Progress in Bengalee, translated by Felix Carey.

Goldsmith's History of England, in Bengalee, translated by Felix Carey.

Bengalee Encyclopædia, publishing by Felix Carey.

Sumachor Duruna, a Bengalee Weekly Newspaper, by Mr. John Marshman.

Dig Diersuna, a Bengalee Monthly Magazine, by Mr. John Marshman.

An Astronomical Book for Schools, by Mr. John Marshman.

MAHRATTA.

A Grammar of the Mahratta Language, by Vydyunath, a learned native, in conjunction with William Carey, D. D. octavo.

A Dictionary of the Mahratta Language, by William Carey, D. D.

Hitopudesha, translated from the	} By learned natives, under the Superintendence of William Carey, D. D. for the use of Students in the College of Fort William.
Sungskrit into Mahratta,	
Butrisha Singhasuna, translated from the Sungskrit into Mahratta,	
Pretapadittu, translated from the Bengalee into Mahratta,	

A Collection of Letters in the Mahratta Language, published by William Carey, D. D. for the use of Students.

TELINGA.

A Grammar of the Telinga Language, by William Carey, D. D.

KURNATA.

A Grammar of the Kurnata Language, by William Carey, D. D.

to the natives, and conversing with them on the subject of religion; in circulating the Scriptures and religious Tracts; in establishing schools for the

SIKH.

A Grammar of the Sikh Language, by William Carey, D. D.

CINGALESE.

A Grammar of the Cingalese Language, by James Chater.

BURMAN.

A Grammar of the Burman Language, by Felix Carey.

CHINESE.

The Works of Confucius, containing the original Text, with a Translation, to which is prefixed a Dissertation on the Chinese Language and Character, by Joshua Marshman, D. D. vol. 1. quarto.

Clavis Sinica, or Elements of Chinese Grammar, with a Preliminary Dissertation on the character of the Colloquial medium of the Chinese, and an Appendix, containing the Ta-hyoh of Confucius, with a Translation by Joshua Marshman, D. D. quarto, 622 pages.

A Dictionary of the Chinese Language, containing all the Characters in the Imperial Dictionary of Kanghi, preparing for the press by Joshua Marshman, D. D. This work will contain nearly thrice the number of Characters in the large Folio Dictionary, published at Paris in 1813, by order of Bonaparte.

ENGLISH.

Account of the Religion, Manners, and Customs of the Hindoos, in four volumes, by William Ward.

The Ramayuna, Translated into English, with Explanatory Notes, volumes 1st and 2d. octavo.

The Sonkyn Pruvuchunu Bhashyu, translated into English, by William Carey, D. D.

education of youth ; and in promoting Christianity among such Europeans as were resident in the neighbourhood, it is unnecessary to enter into any particular details with respect to them. To shew, however, the extent of the operations of our Baptist Brethren in the Eastern world, we shall subjoin a

The Friend of India, published quarterly.

A List of all the Plants in the Hon. Company's Botanic Garden, edited by William Carey, D. D.

Flora Indica, in several volumes, editing by William Carey, D. D.

Dr. Carey, amidst his other avocations, paid great attention to Natural History, and was particularly distinguished as a Botanist. Besides the works which were either published or in the press, he was preparing Grammars of the Orissa, the Cashmire, the Afghan, and the Bulochée languages. In writing these works, he derived essential assistance from learned natives of the countries where the different languages are spoken. Had it not been for this help, it would have been utterly impossible for him, or any other individual, to have written Grammars of so many languages. Other works are also in a state of preparation, as a Grammar of the Pali language, translations of Goldsmith's History of Greece and Rome, &c. &c. *Period. Accounts*, vol. iv. p. 112. *Miss. Mag.* vol. xi. p. 383. *New Evangelical Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 31. *Asiatic Journal*, vol. i. p. 172, 174; vol. iii. p. 250; vol. v. p. 178. *Miss. Herald*, 1819, p. 42. *Period. Accounts of Serampore Mission*, p. 29. *Primitæ Orientalis*, vol. iii. p. xxxv.

list of the stations, which they have established since their settlement at Serampore. *

<i>Begun.</i>		<i>Begun.</i>	
1799	Serampore,		Gundulpara,
1801	Calcutta,	1817	Delhi,
1804	Dinagepore,	1817	Cawnpore,
1804	Cutwa,	1817	Midnapore,
1808	<i>Goamalty</i> removed to		Shiooree,
	English Bazar,	1819	Ajmere.
1808	<i>Miniary</i> removed to		
	Digah,		
1808	Jessore,		
1810	<i>Balasore,</i>	1807	BURMAH.
1811	<i>Agra,</i>		<i>Rangoon,</i>
1812	<i>Patna,</i>	1809	<i>Bootan,</i>
1812	Dacca,	1812	CEYLON,
1813	Surat,		Colombo,
1813	<i>Surdhuna,</i>		Galle,
1813	<i>Silhet,</i>		Hangwell,
1814	Allahabad,	1812	Chittagong,
1814	<i>Nagpore,</i>	1813	JAVA,
1814	<i>Burhampore,</i>		<i>Batavia,</i>
1815	Guyah,		Samarang,
1816	Monghir,	1814	<i>Amboyna,</i>
1816	Moorshedabad,	1818	SUMATRA,
1816	Benares,		Fort Marlborough,
1816	Dum dum,		Padang.

It is not unworthy of observation, that the Baptist missionaries would never have been able to establish so many stations in different parts of the East, had they obtained no supply of labourers except from Europe. Most of these places, in fact, are occupied by persons who were raised up in India, and many of them simply by native con-

* Those marked in Italics have been relinquished.

verts. * Even at Serampore, the missionaries were so entirely occupied with the translation of the Scriptures and other important avocations, that it was not in their power to itinerate so much through the surrounding country, as was desirable; but they endeavoured to supply their own lack of service in this respect, by the labours of the native brethren. On the Lord's day, almost every one of the converts who was capable of speaking on the subject of religion, went into the neighbouring towns and villages with the view of disseminating among their countrymen, the knowledge of the gospel.

Though we feel the utmost confidence in the wisdom of the Baptist missionaries, yet we cannot but suspect, that the plan of employing so many of the converts, and especially of the natives, in the work of the ministry, is more likely to prove injurious than beneficial to the cause of religion. It is no doubt, a fact, that Christianity can never be considered as established in any country, until among the converts, there are found persons qualified for the work of the ministry, and it is not even probable, that the gospel will ever be extensively propagated through any country, except through the instrumentality of native preachers. But while the transcendent importance of this object must render the faithful missionary peculiarly anxious to avail himself of the labours of the converts, the mighty consequences which it involves, require him to exercise much

* In 1819, the whole number of persons employed in the mission was seventy-one. Of these, twenty were missionaries sent from Europe; all the others were natives, or Europeans, or descendants of Europeans, raised up in the country. *Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc.*, 1819, p. 39.

Christian prudence in investing them with the office of the ministry. “Lay hands *suddenly* on no man,” says the Apostle Paul, “neither be partakers of other men’s sins ; keep thyself pure :” And in delineating the qualifications of a Christian minister, the same inspired writer expressly says : “Not a *new convert*, lest being lifted up with pride, he fall into the condemnation of the devil.” Even in our own land, where the natural talents of the people, the education they receive, and the general degree of intelligence they possess, are far higher than in most heathen countries, we find extremely few among the inferior classes of society, who, on embracing the gospel, appear to be at all qualified for the work of the ministry, or even to become in any form, the spiritual instructors of others. As to the natives of Hindostan, they appear to be in a remarkable manner destitute of that energy of mind, and that solidity of character, which are so essential to a Christian preacher ; and though some of the converts may, perhaps, possess that judgment and piety, that prudence and zeal, that meekness and humility, which are necessary to the right performance of the sacred office, yet, it is very improbable, that so many of them should be endowed with these various qualifications. This is not mere theory ; the fact is now, after a considerable trial, admitted by the missionaries ; but we trust, that in the College which they have established, an effectual remedy will be found for this evil.

We apprehend that in establishing so many different stations, the Baptist missionaries committed another considerable error, by dividing, in an injurious degree, their strength. In various instances

they sent a single individual to establish a mission in distant parts of the country, and even in other countries ; but surely, considering the difficulties attendant on missionary operations, little is in general to be expected from the solitary efforts of the most zealous and active labourer. It has often been remarked as an instance of the wisdom of our Redeemer, that when he sent forth his disciples to preach the gospel in the days of his flesh, he sent them two and two ; but we apprehend the force of this fact has not been sufficiently felt with respect to missions in modern times. If our Lord, when he sent forth his disciples on a short excursion,—through their own country,—and among a people with whose language and manners they were familiar,—judged it expedient to join two together ; it must surely be necessary to send a still greater number, perhaps, not less in the first instance, than four or five, when the object is to establish a permanent mission—in a distant country, and an unhealthy climate—and among a people with whose language, manners, and modes of thinking, they are totally unacquainted. When merely an individual or two are employed in a mission, it may remain for many years in a state of infancy, not only as their efforts must necessarily be few and feeble, but as in consequence of the insalubrity of the climate, the change in their mode of living, and the hardships they have to endure, one or both of them may possibly be cut off by the time they have acquired the language, and are ready to enter on their labours ; and though they should be succeeded by others, yet a similar catastrophe may be repeated again and again. Examples of this kind are by no means uncommon in the

history of missions, and even the labours of our Baptist Brethren in India, furnish an illustration of some of these observations. Perhaps, indeed, missionary societies have erred in so commonly associating a number of individuals at one place. Were a district of country divided into smaller parts, like so many parishes, and a missionary stationed in each, there would be less occasion of dissensions among them; every one would have a particular field to cultivate, and more work would probably be executed when they laboured separately, than if they laboured together; while at the same time, from their vicinity to each other, they might be able frequently to meet together for mutual consultation, and mutual encouragement, and in the event of the sickness or death of one, another would be at hand to afford assistance, or to supply his place.

With respect to the number of persons baptized by the missionaries, or by those connected with them, they amounted a few years ago, * to about twelve hundred; but of these it is proper to remark, that a large proportion were Europeans or other persons, who were previously, at least nominal Christians. At various of the stations, the missionaries were exceedingly useful among the soldiers of different regiments, in several of which, churches were formed, and pastors from among themselves were settled over them. The number of natives who were baptized, did not exceed six hundred. This number may appear inconsiderable, compared with that in some other missions; but it ought to be re-

* In 1818.

membered, that as our Baptist Brethren do not baptize the children of the converts, a considerable allowance must be made on this account. It is a common idea, that none but the lowest orders of the people will embrace Christianity; but this is a gross mistake: among the converts, there were a number of Brahmins, and others of the highest casts. Many of the baptized, however, afterwards apostatized, and that, in some instances not long after their baptism. The proportion of backsliders amounted some years ago, to about one-ninth of the whole; but of these, some were occasionally brought to repentance, and returned with weeping to the Saviour. The number of wanderers, we apprehend, is partly owing to some of the missionaries, particularly the native preachers, and others raised up in India, admitting persons to baptism, without sufficient evidence of their Christian character, and partly to the peculiar circumstances of converts from among the heathen, who are exposed to temptations, so numerous and so powerful, that the inhabitants of Europe can form little conception of them, while at the same time, their very imperfect views of the system of divine truth, and their natural imbecility of mind, render them an easy prey to the snares and enticements with which they are surrounded. Even those of the converts, who maintained their stedfastness, were by no means without their imperfections: many of them shewed much of the general corruption of human nature, and of those peculiar defects, which belong to the Hindoo; but yet their character was, on the whole, materially improved by the gospel, and was in various respects ornamental to it. Some have died,

and have given pleasing evidence of the power of religion, in soothing and supporting the mind in the prospect of eternity.^s

To a stranger, the attention of the Hindoos in hearing the word of God, must often have appeared very pleasing. This, however, did not in general, arise from any impression of the importance of the subject; but merely from a kind of indolence, and mental vacancy, which disposes them to listen to any thing that will pass away an idle hour: and the approbation which they frequently expressed of the doctrines of the gospel, did not proceed from a serious conviction of the folly of Hindooism, or of the excellency of Christianity; but purely from that spirit of obsequiousness and flattery, which they uniformly display in their intercourse with Europeans. Some, no doubt, were convinced in their own minds of the absurdity of idolatry; but from the natural imbecility of the native character, they made only feeble and transient efforts to break the fetters with which they were bound. Even those who assumed the character of inquirers, were often idle wanderers, or persons who had quarrelled with their friends, or who had met with some worldly misfortune. Sometimes, however, one of this description was impressed with what he heard, and embraced the gospel; but the far greater number, after staying a day or two, went away without informing the missionaries. These facts,

^s Circular Letters, vol. vii. p. xvii. vol. viii. p. 32.—Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 47, 284. vol. vi. p. 21, 98, 105, 120, 301, 310.—Bapt. Mag., vol. vii. p. 123. vol. x. p. 473.—Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc., 1819, p. 51.—Period. Accounts, relative to the Serampore Mission, p. 2.

we think it of importance to notice, in order to guard young missionaries from indulging in delusive hopes of success, from the attention with which the Hindoos listen to their message. ^t

Indeed, it may be remarked, that the ideas which the Hindoos acquired of Christianity, were for the most part, extremely imperfect. By the preaching of the missionaries, a knowledge that there was such a person as Jesus Christ, was evidently increasing; but as they had not stated congregations, and in fact, seldom met the same persons twice, the ideas which the natives acquired, did not much extend beyond his name; and the circumstance of his being incarnate to take away sin, they were apt to explain agreeably to the principles of their own corrupt system. Thus one concluded that Jesus Christ was an incarnation of Huree and Krishna united. ^u Such circumstances as these, illustrate the difficulties which Christian missionaries have to encounter, in their attempts to make known to the heathen, “the unsearchable riches of Christ.”

Besides labouring to communicate spiritual blessings to the inhabitants of Hindostan, the missionaries endeavoured to promote their temporal improvement. With a view to counteract the spirit of prodigality and improvidence so general among the natives, they established a Savings Bank at Serampore, and more lately, Dr. Carey succeeded in promoting the formation of an Agricultural and Horticultural Society, of which, the Marquis of Hastings, the Governor-General, was the Patron.

^t Miss. Herald, 1819, p. 5.—Circular Letters, vol. ii. p. 22.

^u Miss. Herald, 1822, p. 19.

Several of the most opulent natives joined it: and we trust, it is destined to prove of essential service to the country. ^v

Before we close our account of this important mission, we may remark, that the progress of infidelity among the Hindoos, with respect to their own system, may not improbably prepare the way for the future triumph of Christianity. It is not unlikely, that in former times there were many of the natives who secretly disbelieved the popular creed, but of late years, infidelity appears to have been considerably on the increase among them, and some have even openly attacked the Brahminical system. Among these Hindoo sceptics, Ram Mohun Roy, is worthy of particular notice. He is a Brahmin of extensive landed property, and of great influence, shrewd, active, ambitious, prepossessing in his manners, acquainted with various languages, and zealous in propagating his views among his countrymen. He has published several Tracts in English, Persic, and Bengalee, against the idolatry and superstition of his countrymen, and in these he endeavours to shew, that their ancient books give no countenance to such practices, but teach the doctrine of the unity of God, and that he is the only object of worship. Through the exertions of Ram Mohun Roy, the professors of what are called the Vedantic doctrines are rapidly increasing, particularly among that class of the Hindoos, who are most respectable for rank, education, and talents. At present, the natives as they begin to doubt the power of their deities to save, and of their Brahmins to forgive

^v Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc., 1821, p. 13.

sins, are falling into a disbelief of truths, established on better evidence, and are passing from superstition and idolatry, to infidelity and atheism. The missionaries have, therefore, to address them, more in the character of infidels and profligates; and to establish as much the existence, and moral perfections of God, as the folly and wickedness of worshipping idols. On the other hand, several very respectable natives united to defray the expense of a periodical publication, intended to defend the cause of refined Hindooism. This work was called the Brahminical Magazine, or the Brahmin and the Missionary, and though it contains much misrepresentation of the principles of Christianity, and of the motives of missionaries, we cannot but rejoice in the publication of such a work, confident of this, that truth has nothing to dread, but every thing to hope from discussion. ^w *

^w Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 370. vol. vi. p. 518.—Miss. Herald, 1821, p. 4, 44. Ibid. 1823, p. 20.

* In our account of this mission, we have made no distinction between the Serampore missionaries, and the stations connected with them; and the Calcutta missionaries, and the other stations, supported by the Baptist Missionary Society in England; but they have, in fact, for some years past, formed two distinct bodies. The Serampore missionaries having long supported themselves, now act independently of their Brethren in England, in the management of all their concerns, while they preserve in undiminished vigour, the principles of affectionate union, and zealous co-operation with the parent Society. There is one circumstance of a very melancholy nature, which we may here mention, as we have had no opportunity of noticing it in the body of the history. Mr. William Adams, one of the Calcutta missionaries, has lately renounced the principles of evangelical religion, and embraced the cold and cheerless system of Socinianism.—*Period. Accounts, relative to the Serampore Mission*, p. ii.—*Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc.*, 1822, p. 8.

CHAPTER NINTH.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE LONDON
MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

SECTION I.

SOUTH SEA ISLANDS.

IN September 1795, an institution was formed in London, on a large and respectable scale, for the propagation of the gospel among the Heathen, under the name of THE MISSIONARY SOCIETY. It consisted of Christians of various denominations, who came forward in this great cause with an unanimity and a zeal never before witnessed in modern ages. The flame kindled in the metropolis, quickly spread over the whole country; it extended even to the Continent of Europe and the shores of America. The institution of the Missionary Society was every where hailed as a new era in the history of the Christian world. ^a

Scarcely was the Missionary Society instituted, when it turned its attention to the islands of the South Sea. The voyages of discovery made by order of his Majesty George the Third, in the Pacific Ocean, had brought to light innumerable groups of Islands before unknown; but as they afforded

^a Sermons at the Formation of the Missionary Society, p. iii.
—Transactions of the Missionary Society, vol. i. p. xiv.

little to excite the ambition of princes, or the avarice of merchants, they were again sinking into oblivion, and were ready to be abandoned to that state of ignorance and barbarism in which they were originally discovered.^b Immediately, however, on the formation of the Missionary Society, the Rev. Dr. Haweis, rector of Aldwinkle, in Northamptonshire, delivered before them a Memoir on the most eligible situation for the commencement of their operations; and in this discourse he drew so enchanting a picture of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, that the Directors resolved, without further delay, to commence its operations by a mission to that quarter of the globe. With this view they began to raise subscriptions, which poured in upon them from every quarter of the country; to examine and select missionaries, who came forward with alacrity and zeal to offer their services; and to make preparations for their distant voyage, and their settlement in the places of their destination. These, and innumerable other circumstances, which it is needless to notice, required no small degree of exertion; but every difficulty vanished before the energy and zeal of the Missionary Society.^c

In August 1796, twenty-nine missionaries, embarked at London on board the *Duff*, a vessel purchased by the Society, and commanded by Captain James Wilson, a gentleman who for several years past had retired from sea, but who cheerfully came forward with an offer of his services on this interesting occasion. They were detained about a month

^b Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. x.

^c A Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, p. 3.

at Portsmouth, waiting on the convoy; but they at length finally sailed from England; and after an agreeable passage of about seven weeks, arrived at Rio Janeiro, on the coast of Brazil. Here they laid in such stores as were deemed necessary, and then proceeded on their voyage, designing to go round by Cape Horn; but they now met with such violent contrary gales, that the captain judged it expedient to desist from the attempt, and to take the eastern passage, though it extended the remaining part of the voyage from six to twelve thousand miles. But as the wind was favourable, they sailed forward for seven weeks together, without any material obstruction, at the rate of about two hundred, and sometimes even of two hundred and fifty miles, in twenty-four hours. When they came near the longitude of the Cape of Good Hope, they encountered a most tremendous storm. The waves rolled mountain-high, while the water in the gulf between them was as smooth as a peaceful lake. Now they mounted up to heaven; immediately they went down into the deep. When they sunk into the gulf between the billows, the swell of the sea was so enormous, that the wind blew over their heads, and the sails, though very lofty, were completely becalmed. Then, as they rose on the following wave, it blew such a hurricane, as almost to carry away their masts. In this manner they were driven along for four successive days; but though the gale was so tremendous, they were preserved in safety by Him, “who holdeth the winds in his fists, and treadeth on the waves of the sea.”^d

^d Miss. Voyage, p. 5, 8, 18, 39, 43.—An Authentic Narrative of four Years' residence at Tongataboo, p. 37.

As they drew near the end of the voyage, the missionaries began to make some arrangements for their settlement in the different islands. Most of them made choice of Otaheite as the scene of their future labours; some of Tongataboo, one of the Friendly islands; and two of St. Christina, one of the Marquesas.^c Of these missions, we shall now proceed to give some account, beginning with that to Otaheite.

ARTICLE I.

OTAHEITE.

IN March 1797, the Duff, after a voyage of between five and six months, reached Otaheite, with the whole body of missionaries on board. On their arrival, they were welcomed both by the chiefs and the people with the greatest demonstrations of joy. The natives came on board the ship with the utmost ease and frankness; and when Captain Wilson, accompanied by several of the missionaries, prepared to land, numbers of them came flying along the beach to meet them; and as the boat approached, they ran into the sea, drew it as far as they were able, and then placing the strangers on their shoulders, carried them on shore. Every day they came to the ship in their canoes, laden with coconuts, bread-fruit, and roasted pigs. Each of the principal men was eager to have one of the mission-

^c Miss. Voyage, p. 53.

aries for his Tayo or friend, which is a sacred temporary engagement, customary in all the South Sea Islands, made and ratified by an exchange of names between the parties. The Tayo supplies his visitor with cocoa-nuts, and every kind of provision, during his stay; and he expects in return, some small presents of nails, beads, or similar articles; and, at parting, a gift of a hatchet, or some other useful piece of hardware, with which he thinks himself richly rewarded for all his attentions. On the whole, indeed, the chiefs and the people seemed to vie with each other, who would shew their visitors the most kindness and respect.^a *

^a Miss. Voyage, p. 56.—Authen. Narrative, p. 50, 52.

* How different were the sensations of the Otaheitans at the appearance of the Duff on their shores, from what they were thirty years before, when they were visited by the Dolphin! This island, it is supposed, was originally discovered by Quiros, a Spanish navigator in 1606; but the knowledge of it was entirely lost in Europe, until it was again discovered by Captain Wallis, in 1767. The following account of the sensations of the natives, on that occasion, which Mr. Cover, one of the missionaries, appears to have collected from themselves, is so natural, and yet so interesting, that, though rather foreign to our subject, we cannot forbear introducing it in this place. When Captain Wallis approached the island in the Dolphin, the Otaheitans were struck with astonishment at the extraordinary appearance of the ship, and formed various conjectures respecting it. Some supposed it was a floating island, an idea which seemed generally to prevail, being strengthened by a tradition which is current among them, that the smaller peninsula was originally driven from its situation in some distant part of the ocean, by a tremendous gale of wind, and striking against the east end of Otaheite, occasioned a violent concussion of the island, and then coalesced with it. But, on the nearer approach of the vessel, they were induced to alter their opinion, and could not account for such a strange appearance,

Encouraged by these auspicious circumstances, Captain Wilson, two or three days after his arrival, informed Otoo the king, through the medium of

which now filled them not only with astonishment but alarm. When the ship came to anchor in Matavai bay, and they discovered men on board of her, their apprehensions subsided a little, and judging them to be enemies, they instantly collected their canoes together, and determined to attack them without delay. With this view, they surrounded the vessel, armed with spears, clubs, and stones, and perceiving that the men on board had no such weapons in their hands, thought they should obtain an easy conquest, and commenced a violent assault with stones. The captain, who no doubt observed their hostile intentions, was prepared to receive them, and, in return for their shower of stones, fired his great guns at them. The sudden explosion struck them with terror and amazement: they instantly fled in all directions, crying, "The God is come! The God is come!" pouring, as they imagined, thunder and lightning among them. Having escaped to the mountains, they waited with terror and anxiety the result of this strange and unexpected visit. With the view probably of shewing them the destructive power of his cannon, and to deter them from again attacking the ship, Captain Wallis discharged several guns loaded with bar and chain shot, which made such terrible havock among the bread-fruit trees, that the Otaheitan concluded the country would soon be laid desolate. Panic struck, and conscious of their inability to resist beings who had the command, or were under the protection of such a powerful god, who emitted fire upon them with such loud and manifest tokens of his displeasure, they deemed it necessary to appease his anger, and that of the people who came with him. They accordingly despatched an ambassador with the usual emblems of peace, a pig and a plantain leaf. These being accepted by Captain Wallis, a friendly intercourse commenced between him and the natives; and though their opinion of the ship was now corrected, their astonishment at her bulk and construction was increased, and the dread of the destructive weapons she carried not in the least abated. *Theological Magazine and Review*, vol. ii. p. 488.

an interpreter, of the design of the voyage. He told him that he had brought with him a number of good men, who had left their own country, and come to Otaheite solely with the view of being useful to him and his people, by instructing them in the best and most excellent things; that, on their part, they required only the grant of a piece of land, stocked with bread-fruit and cocoa-nut trees, and so large as to contain a garden, and to admit of houses being erected upon it; that they should be allowed to live unmolested on the island; and should, on no account, be required to intermeddle in their wars, nor to employ their arms, unless in self-defence. Captain Wilson added, that if he consented to these proposals, they would immediately land and settle in the country; if not, they would go to some other island. Great pains were taken to make every thing plain to the King; but it is doubtful whether he understood one half. He said, indeed, they might take what land they pleased; and, about a week after, the district of Mata-vai, with a large house upon it, was ceded to them in due form.^b

Matters being thus arranged, the following missionaries now landed, and took up their residence upon the island: the Rev. John Jefferson, John Eyre, Thomas Lewis, James F. Cover, Messrs. J. A. Gilham, surgeon, Benjamin Broomhall, William Henry, Samuel Clode, Henry Bicknell, Peter Hodges, Henry Nott, Rowland Hassel, John Cock, Edward Main, Francis Oakes, James Puckey, William Puckey, and William Smith, who, with

^b Miss. Voyage, p. 63, 73, 76.

five women and two children, made in all twenty-five persons. The house assigned for their use was said to have been built by Pomare, the king's father, for Captain Bligh, of the ship *Bounty*, whom he expected to return and settle on the island. It was a large spacious building, of an oblong figure, a hundred and eight feet in length, and forty-eight in breadth. The roof was supported by numerous wooden pillars, some eighteen, some nine feet high, beautifully thatched with entwined leaves of the palm tree; and the whole was sheltered on every side by screens of Bamboo. On taking possession of it, the first thing the missionaries did, was to enclose it completely with a thick bamboo rail, in order to prevent the natives from crowding too much upon them. The several apartments were next planned, and partitions of smaller bamboo begun; but owing to the great distance which the natives had to go for the materials, the work proceeded but slowly, though one man stripped his own house in order to supply them. In the arrangement which was made, the apartments of the missionaries were all at one end, and to prevent disputes, were chosen by lot; next to them were marked out the store-room, the library, and a place for the surgeon and his medicines; the remaining space was left for a chapel, which communicated with the outer-door.^c

The missionaries had not been many days on the island, when they attempted to address the Otaheitans on the subject of religion, employing, as their interpreters, one or two Europeans, who had resided

^c Miss. Voyage, p. 60, 65.—Authen. Narrative, p. 51.

among them for several years. The people listened to them with great attention; and, in general, professed to be mightily pleased with what they heard, acknowledging it was "all very good." Mawroa, the husband of Pomare's sister, even declared, he was resolved to throw away the gods that could neither see, nor hear, nor speak, and worship the English God. Manne Manne, indeed, the aged high priest, remarked, "that the missionaries gave them plenty of the word of God, but very few axes, knives, or scissars;" though this was not true, for they distributed articles of that description among them in great abundance. They also made some attempts to check the atrocities of the Arreoies, a society in Otaheite who murder every infant born among them. One of the Arreoies having come to visit them, together with his wife, then big with child, the missionaries embraced this opportunity of remonstrating with them against the murder of their offspring; and even offered to build a house for the reception of pregnant women, and to take the children under their care as soon as they were born. The mother appeared to feel the workings of nature in her breast, and seemed willing to spare the infant; but the brutal chief was obstinately bent on its destruction. He acknowledged, indeed, that it was a bloody act; but pleaded in his behalf, the established nature of the practice; the loss of all his privileges, and even the total dissolution of their society, should it become common to save their children. He left them, at that time, apparently determined to destroy the child; but, a few days after, he came and promised, that should it be born alive, he would bring it to them. Po-

mare, and Ideah, his wife, who were also members of the Arreoy society, were particularly spoken to on the same subject. They had not, indeed, cohabited together for sometime; but they lived on the same terms of friendship, and in as great dignity as ever, though he had taken another wife, and she one of her own servants. She was even then pregnant by this fellow, and therefore the missionaries took occasion to reason with her on the shocking nature of murder, especially in a mother; they also promised to take the child as soon as it was born, and that afterwards it should be no further trouble to her; but to this she would not consent. They then addressed Pomare, and entreated him to interpose his authority in suppressing this diabolical practice, and likewise to prohibit the offering of human sacrifices. All this the wily chief promised to do, saying, "Captain Cook told them these things should not be done; but he did not stay long enough to instruct them." Manne Manne, the high priest, who had shewn them much attention ever since their arrival, having come in during this conversation, they told him that if he offered any more human sacrifices, he would utterly forfeit their friendship, and might look upon them as his enemies. He, accordingly, was not backward to give them his promise; though probably it was with the design it should never be fulfilled.^d

As Christianity and civilization have a natural and intimate connexion together, the missionaries, while they instructed the Otaheitans in the truths of religion, endeavoured to introduce among them

^d Miss. Voyage, p. 70, 75, 80, 153, 156, 224.

the useful arts of life. Having erected a forge, a few weeks after their arrival, Hassel and Hodges began to work at the trade of smiths. The natives flocked around them, and were astonished at the ease and rapidity with which they wrought their tools. They were greatly frightened, however, with the sparks and the hissing of the hot iron in water: no sooner did these begin, than they fled in all directions. Pomare was delighted, beyond measure, with the bellows and the forge: he caught the blacksmith in his arms, all dirty as he was, and joined noses with him, an expression of the highest satisfaction in these islands. ^e

Such, indeed, was the respect in which the missionaries were held by the Otaheitans, that Otoo and his queen brought a large present to Mr. Cover and his wife, desiring to become their adopted children, and promising to regard them as their father and mother. Pomare and Ideah brought them a still larger present in the evening, and begged them to receive the king and the queen as their offspring. It is almost incredible, indeed, what quantities of provisions were poured in upon them: at one time they had no less than a waggon load of fruits, besides a multitude of hogs and poultry. ^f

Captain Wilson, after establishing missions in Tongataboo and St. Christina, returned to Otaheite, after an absence of more than three months, and, to his great joy, he found the missionaries still in high favour both with the chiefs and the people. Encouraged by this circumstance, he finally left the island; and after revisiting the other settlements,

^e Miss. Voyage, p. 159, 161.

^f Ibid. p. 152.

and touching at Canton for a cargo of tea, he returned to England, having accomplished the whole voyage in less than two years.^g

Sanguine as had been the hopes of the Missionary Society, at the departure of the Duff, they were now elevated beyond all measure, on her return. Nor was this feeling confined to them; it pervaded the whole Christian world; every man who took an interest in the cause of missions, now seemed big with expectations of success; if any, at least, entertained other views, they scarcely dared to express them.* Animated with the most pleasing hopes, the

^g Miss. Voyage, p. 152.

* The Missionary Society having appointed a day of thanksgiving for the return of the Duff, and the promising aspect of the mission, Dr. Haweis, one of the preachers on this occasion, drew the following splendid and fascinating picture of the success with which God had crowned the undertaking:

“In this voyage, to tell of all his wonders, my time would fail, and my ability would be unequal. I will just refresh your memory with the following hints of some of the great things done for us, in the swiftness, the safety, the health, and the success of the voyage, particularly respecting the great object we had in view.

“First, The swiftness of the passage. This will be the admiration of every nautical man by profession. Who ever heard, in the most prosperous voyage, of the ablest navigators, of a hundred and eighty-three degrees of longitude passed in the short space of fifty-one days? Moving often at the rate of two hundred and twenty, or thirty miles a day, and so steadily before the wind, as seldom ever to interrupt the daily exercises of prayer and praise, of study or repose.

“Secondly, Shall we not, with thankfulness, admire the safety of the conveyance? Not a mast sprung, not a yard lost, not a sail split, not an anchor left behind. To traverse more than twice the circumference of the globe, especially amidst the lurking shoals, the hidden rocks, the low islands of

Missionary Society determined to lose no time in prosecuting a work which they appeared to have so successfully begun. Scarcely had the Duff returned, when they passed a resolution to undertake another voyage to the Pacific Ocean, “for the purposes of visiting and assisting the missionaries already there, of the Southern Ocean, must, it is well known, be full of danger. They felt it, and sometimes were at their wit’s end, going up to heaven, and sinking down into the deep, shaken by the pealing thunder, embayed without a passage, and once suspended on the dreadful reef. I read and trembled. But ‘he that dwelleth under the defence of the Most High, shall be safe under the shadow of the Almighty.’ I was ashamed, humbled, comforted, when, in the midst of the most awful scenes, I heard one of my brethren say, ‘We took the wings of faith, and fled in prayer to the God of our mercies; and, when we had sung an hymn, presently the storm abated, and we lay down comfortable, and fell asleep.’ Ah! ‘so he giveth his beloved sleep.’

“Thirdly, Their health. What a miracle of mercy hath our vessel been! Of about sixty persons, during nearly a two years’ voyage, not one hath been lost. Not only a hair of their head hath not perished, but those who have returned are fat and well-looking; and every man and woman is reported in better health than when they left the shores of their native country. What disease, misery, and famine, have we not often heard of in voyages of far less extent and duration? The great Physician had determined, that the inhabitants of his ark should not complain, ‘I am sick.’ Few vessels have ever been so long without touching for refreshment, or performed so vast a run as thirteen thousand eight hundred miles, without the sight of land. But except the common well-known effects of the sea, or the indisposition of an individual, not a scorbutic complaint appeared, no spreading fever, no infectious disorder, no dangerous accident, or broken bone. Passing through climates so different, tender women and children, many of whom had never seen the sea till they embarked upon it, unaccustomed to such food or accommodation, they reached

adding to their number where circumstances might render it expedient, and of planting the gospel in other islands, where it should appear most eligible, from their extent, population, or other favourable circumstances." Such, indeed, were the energy and zeal manifested on this occasion, such the

Otaheite, after a five months' voyage, without an individual sick. All the way they had plenty of provisions; their water sweet, abundant, and never failing; and not a creature wanting any manner of thing that was good.

"But I reserve the most important particular till the last, the success of the voyage, respecting the great object we had in view. We had passed in safety the dangers of the deep, and were ready to encounter the greater danger apprehended from the shore; not, indeed, by myself or those who knew the real state of these islands. We were convinced, if the Lord conveyed our missionaries in safety to the place of their destination, OUR WORK WAS DONE. Where are now the cannibals that were to devour us? Where the Heathen to seize our property and persons? Where the helpless infants with their mothers, a prey to savage arms? These vain terrors at least, brethren, are dissipated. I need not tell you the reception we have met with. Welcomed as angels from heaven; furnished with every necessary for subsistence and for comfort; heard with reverence, and courted as if our favour and friendship were the first of blessings. I use no exaggeration; I recite simple facts. The news of our intended residence among the Otaheitans and other islanders, were received with transport. The king and every chief crowded around our missionaries; the whole land was before them; they had to choose the Goshen where they would set up their tents. Set up their tents do I say? Behold a spacious mansion, surrounded with bread-fruits, cocoa-nuts, and the beautiful evee apple, ready prepared for their reception, sufficient to accommodate the whole body of missionaries. They are met on the beach by the king and his chiefs, led by the hand amidst the crowd of surrounding and admiring natives, and not only put in possession of such an abode, but the whole district of Matavai, with all its

liberality of the Christian public, such the eagerness of multitudes to go abroad as missionaries, that within little more than three months from the time this resolution was taken, the preparations for the voyage were completed, and the ship was ready to sail.^h

^h Evan. Mag. vol. vi. p. 378, 509.

produce, solemnly ceded to them for ever; a territory sufficient to maintain ten thousand persons. Each chief is eager to secure the friendship of the individual missionaries, and as their tayos, to invest them with their authority, and admit them to a participation of all they possess. So far from danger or subjection to tyrannical or savage rule, the Lord hath made them princes, in a manner, in all the lands of the Heathen whither they have gone. It was mockingly said, 'The trees, I suppose, produce hot rolls for breakfast.' It is true, those who ventured to those distant lands, little thought what they should eat, or what they should drink; yet it is singular, that our brethren, with united voice, declare their bread-fruit is prepared for them, and equal to the nicest white bread in England. But they have applied it to a nobler use. The admiring Heathen have seen it broken as the symbol of our most sacred mysteries, and received by the holy brethren, as the body of their Lord, and the pledge of his dying love.

"But I must not detain you with other particulars. I will only add, these are the least of our missionary mercies. The natives have shewn the most uncommon attention, from the greatest to the least of them. They frequent our worship in multitudes, confess our God to be greater than their own, and desire to know more of Him and his word; though we can only yet preach through an interpreter, and by translations which we begin to read to them in their own tongue, and which they hear with reverence, and say, they generally understand. They have already brought their children for instruction, and our school is opened; many know all their letters, and begin to join them with great docility. The chief priest of the country is most friendly to the missionaries, and seconds their instruction, assuring the people it is 'my tye,' good; and

In December 1798, the *Duff* sailed from England on her second voyage to the South Sea islands, under the command of Captain Robson, with twenty-nine missionaries on board, and the Rev. Mr. Howell of Knaresburgh as superintendent of the mission. Five of the missionaries were ordained

says they must amend their manners. 'I am too old to learn,' says he, 'but our children will be taught all these wondrous things, which we see, and know the speaking book.'

"The missionaries have not indeed manna rained round their tents, but they have meat as sweet as the quails; and bread-fruit, cocoa-nut, and a multitude of vegetables brought daily; and a twofold provision for the Sabbath, much more than they can possibly consume, and which are distributed to the servants and natives. Our brethren are active; they have acquired much of the language, have formed themselves comfortable residences, and every day are employed in labours to make known his name, and to proclaim his glory, for whose sake they have gone forth to the Heathen, with their lives in their hands; and proved the truth of his promises, in a measure of which we have no adequate conception: 'Whosoever will lose his life shall preserve it; and whosoever hath forsaken houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or wife, or children, for my name's sake, shall receive an hundred fold, and shall inherit everlasting life.'

"Unable to enter into further particulars, I shall only add, as the result of the fullest inquiry and intelligence, that nothing can appear more promising than the beginning of our labours in these isles of the sea. The fields, indeed, appear white for harvest: they regard us as beings of a superior order; they feel and confess their own inferiority; they hear us in silent awe; and they seem ready to embrace our message, as soon as we are able to communicate it to them. Ah! brethren, do not your hearts burn within you, at the tidings you have heard; and joining in one vast burst of praise and adoration with angels and archangels, and all the company of heaven, can we but shout around the throne; 'Worthy is the Lamb that was slain, to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and

to the ministry ; several of them possessed some degree of medical knowledge ; and most of the others were artisans of various descriptions. The letter of instructions from the Directors of the Society, with regard to the conduct and arrangement of the mission, displays in general much good sense, extensive information, and calm consideration of the subject ; though it is probable, they little expected

strength, and honour, and glory, and blessing ?" *Thanksgiving Sermons before the Missionary Society, August 6, 1798, p. 49, 56.*

Such was the representation which Dr. Haweis drew of the success of the South Sea Mission, a representation far beyond the truth, and in which every circumstance of an unfavourable aspect is carefully kept out of view. Contrasted with the history of the mission, it presents a most salutary warning of the danger of indulging in presumptuous hopes of success, and of being fascinated with early appearances. It furnishes a striking illustration of the sovereignty of God, who often pursues plans diametrically opposite to those which man would form, in order the more effectually to stain the pride of all glory. It shews the total insufficiency of human efforts for the conversion of the heathen, and the necessity of an humble and entire dependance on God to crown them with success. In this mission, when man spake as if he would carry all before him, little was effected ; when he found he could accomplish nothing, much was done. Though we think it right to bring forward these facts, not only as a matter of impartiality, but on account of the important lessons which they teach us, yet for the memory of Dr. Haweis, we feel unfeigned respect. Had he never done any thing in the cause of Christianity, but propose the mission to the South Sea islands, that alone would have crowned his name with imperishable honour ; and we can deeply sympathize with the feelings of delight which the good man must have experienced in the evening of his days, when he received time after time, the pleasing tidings of its success.

the difficulties and disappointments for which they in this manner endeavoured to make provision.ⁱ

Hitherto the Missionary Society had beheld its operations crowned with success, beyond the expectations even of its most sanguine members. But now the sky grew dark; the clouds began to gather; the storm burst at once in various quarters. It was like an electric shock to the Christian world. The Duff had not left England two months, when she and all the missionaries on board were captured off Cape Frio, by the Bonaparte, a French privateer of twenty-two guns, and upwards of two hundred men. The morning of the day she was taken was clear and fine, and it was just possible to perceive a vessel at a prodigious distance, but as its appearance was very insignificant, being only like a fishing smack, the missionaries in general, were disposed to pay little or no attention to it. It seemed extremely improbable that an enemy's ship should be cruising in that quarter, and the idea that it would inevitably fall into the hands of the Portuguese, dispelled every fear. During the preceding part of the voyage, they had uniformly been alarmed on the sight of any strange sail, and committed themselves to the protection of the Most High; but, on this occasion, as they were apprehensive of no danger, so they offered up no prayers for deliverance. The event shewed that their security was founded in presumption; but yet it is proper to remark, that had they known the utmost of their danger, it was not in their power to have shunned it, as there was a still calm during the early part of the day, so

ⁱ Evan. Mag. vol. vii. p. 3, 38.

that they could make no way at all, and they apprehended that the same was the case with the other vessel. Indeed, from the best observations they were able to make with their glasses, she seemed to be riding at anchor, about twelve o'clock; whereas, it afterwards appeared, that she was advancing toward them by the help of her sweeps, at the rate of several miles an hour; but with all her port holes shut, the better to conceal her hostile design. About four in the afternoon there sprung up a light breeze, and they made the best use of it they were able, being now within a few leagues of Rio Janeiro, and impatient to reach that port, in order to obtain refreshments. With this view alone, and not from any apprehension of danger, they made all the sail they could; and though they perceived the other vessel doing the same, it gave them little or no concern. What then was their surprise and astonishment, when about ten o'clock at night, after they had spent the day in the most perfect security, she fired a gun to bring them to. The moon had hitherto shone bright; but a light squall now sprung up; the sky was obscured by a thick cloud, and a heavy shower of rain began to fall. At that moment, the first shot was followed by a second, the direction of which was so near the Duff as to be heard in the air, and seen in the water. Most of the company, however, were still disposed to hope the best; and that, when it was understood who they were, and what was their design, they would be allowed to proceed on their voyage without further molestation. But this hope quickly vanished when she came up to them: then the haughty tone of her English interpreter not

only rendered them suspicious of danger, but made some of them literally tremble. The enemy, with little ceremony, ordered them to send off their boat; and as this was not done instantly, they again bellowed forth the authoritative command, threatening, in case of refusal, to sink them to the bottom. The first mate now hastened on board the Bonaparte; and, in a short time, he returned with the awful intelligence, that the Duff was a prize, and that all the men, without exception, must leave her immediately, and go on board the privateer. The feelings of the captain, the missionaries, and the crew, on receiving this order, it is more easy to conceive than describe. The married brethren, in particular, were overwhelmed with consternation and distress; the thought of leaving their wives and their children in the hands of a lawless banditti, swallowed up every other consideration. The officers who had come on board, armed with cutlasses, executed the order with so much despatch, that no opportunity was afforded those who had no wearing apparel but what they had on to procure a further supply, a circumstance which afterwards tended not a little to aggravate their distress. Some of the sailors, indeed, had already taken possession of the cabins, and were enriching themselves with the spoils; while others drove the missionaries and the crew into the boat, as if they had been so many sheep for the slaughter, without inquiring whether the number herded together could be accommodated or not. Even after it was as full as it could well hold, they threw down upon them from the ship whatever baggage was to be conveyed to the privateer, without the smallest regard to their safety.

On entering the Bonaparte, the prisoners were struck with the scene: it seemed a kind of hell in uproar. The noise and confusion which prevailed on board, combined with the forlorn appearance, the squalid looks, and the barbarous manners of the crew, overwhelmed the missionaries with grief and horror. They stood all together near the stern of the vessel, to which they were directed as they entered, till about two o'clock in the morning, gazing on one another as helpless objects of commiseration, lost in astonishment, sunk almost into a state of mental torpor, incapable of making one consolatory reflection for their mutual comfort, unable to reconcile their present disastrous situation with the gracious superintending providence of God, and ignorant of what trials they might yet be called to suffer. They were, at length, conducted by a sentry below deck, to the place where the sailors slept. Here they had to spend their nights while on board the Bonaparte, though during the day they were permitted to come on deck. This place was so low that they could scarcely stand upright, and so small they had scarcely room to lie; while, at the same time, the smell was so offensive, the heat so intense, and the air so close, that they were almost suffocated to death. They now learned the value of water, by the painful experience of the want of it. Such as in England they would not have employed to wash their hands, they were now glad to use for quenching their thirst; and even of this, though they were oppressed with the heat of a vertical sun, they were allowed only a scanty quart in twenty-four hours. Besides, the sailors, in passing to and from their hammocks, trod over them;

and the vermin, from their beds, dropped upon those under them; while the sentinels who stood on guard, in passing to and from the lantern, used to thrust the points of their swords between them, to feel for room where they might put their feet. The sailors also plundered them of what little property any of them still possessed. Such of them as had time or recollection, on the night of the capture, brought with them a small bundle of clothes; but now they lost them in whole, or in part, through the rapacity of these miscreants, who left many of them without a shirt to change with another. This was unknown to Captain Carbonelle, the commander of the privateer; and, indeed, when he was informed of it, he ordered the rogues to bring all their hammocks, bags, and boxes, on the quarter deck, and desired the missionaries to claim what was their property. By this means some of them recovered part of the articles stolen from them; but this transaction heightened the enmity of the wretches against them, which they did not fail to manifest in future, as far as was in their power.^k

Indeed, as Carbonelle and his officers became acquainted with their character, and the nature of their undertaking, they alleviated to the utmost of their power, the horrors of their captivity, and were disposed to show them every indulgence. The captain expressed his concern for their mode of living, which necessity, not choice, imposed upon him. He felt for them as a sympathizing friend, rather than triumphed over them as an unfeeling

^k Howel's Particulars of the second Voyage of the Duff, p. 23, 35, 82.—Gregory's Journal of a captured Missionary, p. 18, 24, 28, 52, 68.

enemy. He always endeavoured to encourage their confidence and hope, by his gentle treatment, his friendly conversation, and his courteous manners, instead of impressing them with servile awe, by the frowns of his countenance, or the authority of his office. When the instructions of the Missionary Society to Captain Robson were communicated to him, he seemed to feel exceedingly on their account. Had he known, he said, who they were, and the cause in which they were embarked, he would sooner have given L.500 out of his own pocket than have met with them: but now the laws of his country, and the claims of his officers and men, compelled him to act as he did.¹

For sometime the missionaries knew not what would be their destiny, whether they would be detained as prisoners of war, or set at liberty upon their arrival in port. As was natural to persons in their situation, hope and fear, alternately prevailed. In general, most of them were enabled to cast their cares on God; but yet, on some occasions, they appear to have been torn with anxiety, and agitated with the most tumultuous passions. Their capture afforded a trial of their missionary temper; and it must be acknowledged, that the character of some of them did not appear in the most favourable light. There were several who manifested an impatient, discontented, refractory spirit; a want of all subordination, of union, and of brotherly love.^m

The Bonaparte was out on a three months' cruise, so that the prospect before them was not the most

¹ Howel's Particulars, p. 41, 49.—Gregory's Journal, p. 27.

^m Howel's Particulars, p. 52, 54, 55, 62, 69, 114, 178, 238, 264.

pleasing ; but having in less than a fortnight taken other three prizes, Captain Carbonelle altered his original design, and sailed for Monte Video in the Rio de la Plata, where he arrived within three weeks after the capture of the Duff; and thus the captivity of the missionaries was providentially shortened.ⁿ

On their arrival, they had the happiness to learn that the Duff had reached Monte Video ten days before them. Immediately on being taken possession of by the French, she had been despatched to that port under the command of M. Riviere, as prize-master, with the women and children on board ; a circumstance which had occasioned, both them and their partners in life, the greatest anxiety and distress, as it was uncertain when, or even if ever, they should see each other again. Captain Carbonelle, however, had kindly suffered Mr. Turner, the surgeon, to accompany them, in order to afford them medical aid, in case of any indisposition occurring among them. Indeed, though the sailors were disposed to pilfer and otherwise maltreat them, yet the officers uniformly shewed them the utmost attention, treating them with the greatest politeness, and the most scrupulous delicacy. Every regard was paid to their convenience and comfort, as well as to their personal safety. Whatever provisions were on board, were at their command ; and they were told, they had only to mention what they wanted, and if it was in the ship it was granted them. When any of the live stock was killed, they always had the preference, and

ⁿ Gregory's Journal, p. 24, 58.

were permitted to make their choice, before either the officers or the seamen : and upon their arrival at Monte Video, they were immediately supplied with apples, pears, peaches, figs, and melons, which, considering the time they had been at sea, were a most delicious repast to them, though some, from using them too freely, experienced the bad effects of their indulgence. To crown the whole of these mercies, they had now the pleasure of seeing their husbands in safety ; and the joy which they mutually felt at meeting, was somewhat in proportion to the horror they had experienced at parting.^o

During their stay in South America, the missionaries were not confined as prisoners of war, but were permitted to leave the ship during the day, and to go about without molestation. Not only did Captain Carbonelle and his officers continue to shew them the greatest attention, but even the Spaniards in general treated them with the utmost civility. At all the cottages where they called, they met with much hospitality ; the inhabitants cheerfully supplied them with the best their tables could afford, and in many instances refused to accept of the smallest remuneration. Two of the women who were pregnant being near the time of their delivery, and the house where they lodged being extremely inconvenient for such an occurrence, as the whole of the married people had only two sleeping apartments among them, a gentleman of Monte Video generously granted them the use of his house in the country, about six miles from

^o Howel's Particulars, p. 71, 95.—Gregory's Journal, p. 65, 67, 70, 76, 88.

the town, with all the accommodations it could afford. Here they had an orchard or garden, the fruitfulness of which is beyond description. Some of the trees appeared like a solid mass of fruit; the branches were weighed down to the earth, unable to support their burden, and thousands of apples, peaches, and nectarines lay perishing on the ground. In several instances, indeed, when the missionaries made excursions into the neighbouring country, a practice against which they were particularly warned, they were attacked by robbers, and some of them even narrowly escaped with their life.^p

Being now, however, in a foreign land, where they had no opportunities of usefulness, and where they suffered not a few inconveniences, they were impatient to leave it as speedily as possible, but every scheme which they formed for this purpose, was successively frustrated; and, at length, the prospect of their removal seemed in a great measure closed. They had early formed some expectations of being able to redeem the *Duff*, and to proceed on their voyage; but though Captain Carbonelle was favourable to the plan, they soon found that this desirable object could not be attained, unless by the immediate payment of cash, on account of the sailors usually demanding their prize money before they leave the port where the vessel is disposed of; a thing which, in their circumstances, it was impossible for them to accomplish. Several of the missionaries formed the idea of visiting Patagonia, and of endeavouring to plant Christianity in that

^p Howel's Particulars, p. 106, 116, 120.—Gregory's Journal, p. 113, 118, 122.

benighted country ; but on further consideration, it was also found necessary to relinquish this plan. They next made an attempt to purchase a small brig, one of the prizes of the Bonaparte ; and after a great deal of trouble in contracting for her, they considered the bargain as in a manner concluded. Most of the missionaries now expressed their willingness to prosecute their voyage to the South Sea Islands, provided it was deemed practicable and safe ; but as Captain Robson thought the season was too far advanced for this purpose, some offered to go to the Cape of Good Hope, and some to Sierra Leone, while others chose to return to England. In a day or two, however, the whole of this arrangement was unexpectedly frustrated ; for notwithstanding the bargain they had made, the vessel was sold to a Portuguese merchant. The missionaries were now reduced to the utmost perplexity, as an order was issued by the Spanish Viceroy to make them all prisoners, if they did not leave the country within about a week. ^a

The missionaries had now nothing before them but the prospect of captivity, in a distant country, unless Captain Carbonelle would take them on board the Bonaparte ; and he assured them, that in that case, he would be obliged to land them on some part of the coast, the first opportunity he could find, or else to carry them prisoners to Cayenne, a French settlement to the northward. Such was the dilemma to which they were reduced, when he succeeded in procuring a passage for them to Rio Janeiro, in the vessel of which they had been disappointed ; and

^a Howel's Particulars, p. 51, 99, 113, 127, 131.

he, at the same time, had the generosity to advance them several hundred dollars on account of the Missionary Society, to provide them in stores for their voyage. In a short time, they got every thing ready for their departure, and after taking an affectionate farewell of their friends at Monte Video, they embarked on board the Portuguese brig, and sailed for Rio Janeiro. The voyage, they hoped, would not occupy more than a fortnight, but to their great disappointment, it lasted about a month; and as the vessel was very small, they were extremely crowded, and suffered many other inconveniences in the course of the passage. They had begun, however, to flatter themselves with the prospect of speedily entering the harbour of Rio Janeiro, when they were alarmed by the sight of a fleet of ships, one of which bore down upon them, and proved to be a frigate of forty guns. So large a vessel, with her ports open, and full of men of a strange, uncouth appearance, could not fail to strike the missionaries with alarm, after what they had lately suffered. They had soon, indeed, the satisfaction of beholding her hoist Portuguese colours; but this proved no protection to them; for as the merchant had purchased the brig without her having been regularly condemned, and as he had likewise been chargeable with some acts of smuggling, his vessel was now captured by his own countrymen.^r

The missionaries being thus captured a second time, were ordered out of the brig, and taken on board, some of the commodore's ship, of seventy-four guns, others, of the frigate of forty, which

^r Howel's Particulars, p. 93, 138, 163, 173, 179.

were the convoy of the fleet. The situation of the prisoners in these two vessels was widely different. The captain and principal officers of the frigate were polite, humane, and liberal, and afforded their guests every accommodation and comfort, the stores of the ship could supply. They felt for their distress, and sacrificed their own comfort to alleviate the hardships of their captivity. Every eye was ready to watch, every hand forward to supply their wants as far as lay in their power. The commodore and his first captain, on the contrary, were proud, imperious, capricious tyrants to those under their command, and cruel unfeeling monsters toward strangers. Devoid of common decency, they frequently put the missionaries to the blush; without common humanity, they as often put their feelings on the rack. They affected to consider them as convicts who had been originally bound to Botany Bay, but who, by some means or other, had made their escape; and, in fact, their clothes were now so old and shabby, and they had met with so many misfortunes, they really had something the appearance of vagabonds. It seemed to the missionaries, however, that this slander was invented merely as a pretext for assigning them a birth with the common sailors, who, in respect of intellect, were little above the brutes, and in point of morals, were far below them. Their provisions were so wretched, that at first they could scarcely use them, and at the same time, so scanty as hardly to satisfy the cravings of nature. In consequence, however, of the uniform propriety of their behaviour, they experienced by degrees, somewhat better treatment, and after the first week or two, they rarely met with any instance

of personal rudeness. Mr. Howel, who laboured under a severe stomach complaint, was able to make so little use of the ship's provisions, that for three weeks it was difficult to say on what he subsisted. His disorder rose, at length, to such a height, that he expected nothing else but that he should die of absolute want. At this very period, however, the commodore who now understood that he was a priest, sent for him, and after apologizing for his past neglect, told him that he should have a cabin to sleep in, and that he should have the use of his own apartments during the day, and should sit at his table. He afterwards extended a similar privilege to one of the missionaries' wives who was far advanced in pregnancy, and whom he had previously treated in a very unfeeling manner. In short, he manifested toward them, a degree of kindness and attention which they had little reason to expect from a man of his barbarous disposition. Being set at liberty, on their arrival in Lisbon, they lost no time in procuring a passage to England, where most of them arrived, after an absence of near ten months, in the course of which, both their trials, and their mercies had been neither few nor small.^s

The Missionary Society had not recovered from the astonishment and distress which the first intelligence of the capture of the *Duff* occasioned them, when they received tidings from Otaheite, of the removal of most of the missionaries from that island. To account for this painful event, it is ne-

^s Howel's Particulars, p. 183, 193, 197, 201, 203, 205, 207, 214, 226, 260, 264, 212, 265.—Gregory's Journal, p. 213, 217, 226, 242.

cessary to trace the history of the mission from the time of Captain Wilson's departure.

Captain Wilson had scarcely left the island, to return to England, when some of the natives formed a design to seize on the property of the missionaries; but, for the present, the plan was not carried into effect. They were constantly, however, committing depredations upon them, and, in this, they sometimes manifested not a little ingenuity. One morning, a thief was discovered to have entered the smith's shop, and carried off a number of small but valuable articles. The manner of the robbery was somewhat curious, and shews the dexterity of the rogue. He appears not to have had a knife, as by simply cutting the lashings of the sticks that formed the walls of the shop, he might have entered it with far less trouble, as well as time. Instead of this, he dug out the sand from below, apparently with his hands, which are the common spade of the natives, and made a hole large enough to admit himself through, together with the stolen articles, under the ends of the sticks, which were not less than two feet deep in the ground. This operation must have taken him considerable time, and he must have been under perpetual apprehension of detection, by the watch, who was walking round the house, and must often have passed him. The attention of the watch, indeed, was once attracted to the place, where the man was at work; but the fellow had so coiled himself up in the hole, that the guard took him for a hog, and left him unmolested. The thief, however, was afterwards discovered, and on application to the chief of the

district, the articles he had stolen were restored to the missionaries. ^t

One of the earliest cares of the missionaries, was the establishment of an hospital for the reception of sick natives, many of whom were languishing under the venereal and other diseases. A few, at first, did come; but the generality of the poor creatures seemed afraid, or were insensible to the benevolence of their design. Some even expected a present before they would take any medicine, and it was necessary that every thing should be sweet, otherwise, they said, it was not good. At the same time, they had not the least patience, being disappointed unless they were cured in three or four days. One day, as a number of little boys were gathering bread-fruit, one of them fell from a tree and fractured his arm. Mr. Clode, one of the missionaries, immediately set it, and for five days it remained in good order; but the lad being wild and inattentive, broke it again. Mr. Clode now attempted to reset it, but as the boy was in great agony for several hours, his father came, and insisted on taking him home, saying, "He would carry him to a native doctor, and pray to the Eatoa, and then he would soon recover." The missionaries endeavoured to persuade him to allow his son to remain with them; but all their arguments were in vain. Two of them, therefore, went next morning to the place, which was several miles distant, to see the boy; but on their arrival, they found he had died in the course of the night. He had been placed, it seems, in a cold running water, while in a very high fever, and

^t Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 2, 8.

immediately expired. The father acknowledged, with tears, his error in taking him away, and was lamenting most bitterly the untimely death of his child. Agreeably to the custom of the island, he cut himself with a shark's tooth, and had already lost a considerable quantity of blood, which he carefully caught upon a piece of white cloth, and laid it down by the deceased, who was decorated with flowers, and a garland round his head. Sometime after, when Temaree, one of the chiefs of the island, was severely burned by an explosion of gun-powder, Mr. Broomhall, another of the missionaries who possessed some knowledge of medicine, was applied to for assistance. He accordingly went, and employed what he considered as the most suitable remedies. On returning, however, next day, he was astonished at the appearance of his patient, who was now daubed all over with a thick white paste, which he understood to be the scrapings of yams. Both the chief and his wife, indeed, were mightily offended with Mr. Broomhall, and would allow him to do nothing further, his first application, they said, had been attended with so much pain. Otoo the king likewise seemed highly displeased with him, on the same account; and Mr. Harris had even considerable apprehensions that he intended to murder them, but for this there seems not to have been the smallest foundation. Afterwards, indeed, their wrath seems to have subsided; for, in a few days, Pomare applied to Mr. Broomhall to revisit the chief, who was now extremely ill, and to administer something to him, that would cure him without giving him pain.^u Thus the medical skill

^u Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 3, 19, 75.

of the missionaries was, at first, not only of little use to the natives, but was even attended with danger to themselves. It is obvious, indeed, that among savages the practice of medicine must be followed with extreme caution, especially at first, as when a patient dies, they will be ready to ascribe the fatal termination of his disorder to the remedies employed, so different from those which they have been accustomed to use, and, perhaps, they may even be disposed to revenge his death on the medical practitioner.

But while the missionaries were employed in these and other pursuits, connected with the great object of their labours, an event occurred which drove most of them off the island, and even threatened the extinction of the mission.

In March 1798, the ship *Nautilus*, commanded by Captain Bishop, arrived in Matavai bay, and, after taking in refreshments, proceeded on her voyage; but in a few days she was driven back by a violent gale of wind. While she was on the island, two of the sailors and five natives of Owhyhee, who were on board, made their escape from the ship, and secreted themselves on shore. The chiefs manifested an intention to protect them; but Captain Bishop expressed his determination to recover them, especially the seamen, cost what it would. With this view he applied to the missionaries, for their assistance; and as they were no less anxious than himself that the deserters should be delivered up, they resolved to send a deputation to the three principal chiefs who were then in Opare, Otoo, Pomare, and Temaree. Messrs. Jefferson, Broomhall, Main, and William Puckey, accordingly set off for

that district, and arrived first at the house of Temaree; but as they did not think it proper to communicate the design of their journey to him alone, they requested him to accompany them to the king's house, to which he consented. On reaching Otoo's habitation, they found his majesty seated amidst a number of his attendants, and employed in the royal exercise of cleaning a small tooth comb. He received them with the usual salutations of friendship, and asked them the occasion of their visit. But as Pomare was still wanting, being at a place about two miles distant, they forebore mentioning it, until he also should arrive. They had already sent off for that chief, but apprehending the messenger might be dilatory, they resolved to proceed themselves to him, and beg him to come and meet his son and Temaree, that they might unfold the business to them all together. By the way, they passed many of the Otaheitans, who saluted them with their usual frankness. When they had advanced about three quarters of a mile, and were near the banks of a river which they had to ford, they found themselves accompanied by about thirty of the natives; but of this they took no notice, as it was a usual thing in their journies, until suddenly three or four of them laid hold on Mr. Broomhall's coat, which he had taken off, and was carrying under his arm, and began to wrest it from him. Mr. Jefferson went to his assistance, and asked them, Why they acted in such a manner? Turning his head round, he beheld Puckey on the ground, and a number of the natives stripping him, with great avidity, after which they dragged him to the river, by the hair of the head, and made some

attempts, as it were, to drown him. Casting his eyes in a different direction, he saw Main in the hands of some others, who were tearing the clothes off his back. At that instant, Jefferson himself was seized by four or five of the natives, who began to pull him violently in different ways, contending with each other who should have his clothes, which they would not give him time to unbutton, but stripped them off as fast as they were able. In the course of the scuffle, they dragged him through the river, but without materially injuring him, though he expected nothing short of death from their savage brutality. They now seemed undetermined what to do with him. One was for taking him to the mountains, another towards the sea, but he himself entreated them to carry him to Pomare. Many of the natives, who had no concern in the affair, now collected together, and, seeming to feel for his situation, attempted to rescue him out of their hands. During the short contest which ensued, Puckey and Main were hurried before him perfectly naked, except a narrow slip of cloth round their loins. Jefferson requested those who had now the charge of him to conduct him and his two brethren to Pomare, a proposal to which they readily agreed. As they passed along, the missionaries were pleased to see the women express their compassion for them by their tears. At length they came to Pomare whom they found under a shed by the sea-side, with his wife Ideah, and a few attendants, and were received by them with the utmost humanity. They were immediately supplied with cloth to cover them, and were made as easy as possible, by the promise of protec-

tion to themselves and their brethren. Still, however, they were anxious about the safety of Mr. Broomhall, and therefore they asked the chief to send in quest of him, a proposal to which he readily consented.

After resting about an hour, the three missionaries, accompanied by Pomare and Ideah, proceeded on their return to Matavai. Shortly before they came to the place where they were stripped by the natives, Mr. Broomhall joined them. The savages had more than once threatened to murder him. He not only, however, escaped with his life, but was permitted to retain his shirt, trowsers, and watch; and the king, to whose house he was taken, procured him likewise his hat. On their arrival, about eight o'clock in the evening, at the mission house, they found their brethren under arms; for the other missionaries had not only received intelligence of the disaster from a boy whom Mr. Broomhall had despatched for the purpose, but they were much alarmed by various reports, as if the natives designed to attack their little settlement, and therefore they had put themselves in a posture of self-defence.^v

Alarmed to a high degree by these circumstances, a meeting of the missionaries was called next morning; and while they were yet in a state of the utmost consternation, the greater part of them came to a hasty resolution to leave Otaheite, and to proceed in the Nautilus, to Port Jackson. Before their departure, however, Manne Manne the high priest came to Matavai, with a message from Pomare,

^v Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 27, 29, 31, 33.

to the four missionaries who had been stripped in Opare, together with a chicken and a young plantain tree, as an atonement and peace-offering to them. At the same time, most of the articles of which they had been plundered were restored to them. When the natives understood that most of the missionaries, together with the women and children, designed to quit the island, it seemed to give them some degree of concern. But notwithstanding these favourable appearances, eleven of the missionaries, namely, Messrs. James Fleet Cover, William Henry, Rowland Hassel, Francis Oakes, Edward Main, Peter Hodges, James Puckey, William Puckey, Samuel Clode, John Cock, and William Smith, together with four women and four children, embarked, without delay, on board the Nautilus, and after a disagreeable voyage of about six weeks, they arrived at Port Jackson, where they met with a very friendly reception from Mr. Hunter, the governor, and from the Rev. Mr. Johnson, and the Rev. Mr. Marsden, the chaplains of the settlement. Encouraged by these gentlemen, they made some attempts to promote the interests of religion in the colony; but their exertions were attended with little or no success. Some of them, indeed, turned out extremely ill, so that their removal from Otaheite, instead of being hurtful, may rather be considered as beneficial to the mission. It is likewise not unworthy of notice, that the missionaries who fled to New South Wales, appear to have been exposed to greater danger, and to have suffered severer trials, than their brethren who remained in Otaheite. Mr. Hassel was robbed of nearly all he possessed, and dangerously wounded

by six ruffians, who broke into his lodgings near Paramatta; and Mr. Clode was inhumanly murdered, in the neighbourhood of Sydney, under circumstances of so tragical a nature, that it may not be uninteresting to give a more particular detail of this melancholy event.^w

Mr. Clode had been upwards of a year in New South Wales, when he resolved to return to England, and was now making preparations for the voyage. Having lent, however, some little money to a soldier of the name of Jones, who was a townsman of his own, he thought it necessary to ask payment of it; and after some altercation, the fellow desired him to call on the Tuesday following, and he would settle with him. About four o'clock that afternoon, Mr. Clode called at the Rev. Mr. Johnson's, sat a few minutes, and then took his leave, promising to call again next morning with some medicine for one of the family, who was at that time indisposed. Instead, however, of seeing his friend next morning, Mr. Johnson was horrified with the tidings that he was found murdered in a saw-pit under water, with his skull fractured in different places, and his throat cut from ear to ear. The news of this shocking event soon spread in all directions. Numbers of people of every description ran to the spot, and among others Jones, the man already mentioned, who charged the person who found the deceased in this melancholy condition, with the horrid deed. Suspicions, however, having fallen upon Jones himself, the path leading from

^w Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 37, 71, 319.—Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 298, 303; vol. x. p. 73.

the pit to his house was examined, and blood was traced to the very door, besides some of the brains of the deceased lying in several places. On making further search in the house, blood was discovered in different parts, particularly in a small skilling. An axe likewise was found with blood and brains upon it, though it had previously been washed; a knife and blanket were discovered in the same state; and upon examining the person of Jones, blood was found upon one of his fingers. These, and other circumstances, having fully confirmed the suspicions of his guilt, Jones, together with his wife, and two other men who lived in the house, was immediately apprehended; and on the next day a criminal court was convened for their trial, when three of them, namely, Jones, his wife, and Elbray, were convicted on the clearest evidence; and the fourth, though acquitted, was suspected to be at least privy to the deed. After their conviction, they were confined in separate places, for the purpose of obtaining a more full confession of this murder, as well as of others which it was conjectured Jones had committed. He continued, however, hardened to the last, and his wife was little better; but Elbray, struck with remorse, made a full acknowledgment of the whole transaction.

The scheme, he said, was planned by Jones and his wife on the Sunday. They asked him to assist in it, but he at first refused; and therefore, to gain him over, Jones gave him several drams of spirits, and on the Tuesday morning obtained his consent to the horrid deed. Trotman, the other man who was tried but acquitted, was sent with Jones' two children to a settler's farm for turnips; and as they

expected Mr. Clode before dinner, it was the intention of the other three to despatch him before their return ; but as he did not come so soon as they apprehended, they were obliged to alter their plan. About four o'clock, two other soldiers called in purposely to drink tea. Jones and Elbray were at that time looking out for Mr. Clode, and having observed him coming down the hill at a distance, they went into the house, and Jones proposed that his wife, together with the two soldiers, Trotman and the children, should go and look at a piece of wood which he was said to be cutting for a canoe, a proposal to which they consented. Mr. Clode having in the meanwhile come to the door, was asked in, and a chair was set for him near the table to settle his accounts. An axe was placed in a corner of the room, with which Elbray, coming behind him, was to knock him down. With this view he took it up in his hand, but his heart failing him, he laid it down again, and went out of the house. Returning, however, in a short time, he heard Jones give the first blow, and the inhuman wretch repeated the strokes so often, that even Elbray himself at last cried out, " For God's sake, Jones, you have knocked him all to pieces." They then dragged him into the skilling ; and after they had both come out, Jones went into it again, and coming out a second time, took up a large knife. Elbray having asked him what he was going to do with it, he replied, " D—n him, he moves, he is not dead." He accordingly went in again, and cut his throat from ear to ear, after which he returned, both the knife and his hands still reeking with blood. These he immediately washed, whilst Elbray

scattered ashes over the room to conceal the blood upon the floor. The window shutters were then put on, and the tea things set against the return of the company. After tea, liquor was brought upon the table, and several songs were sung by Jones, his wife, and others. About nine o'clock, Jones and Elbray went out, when they dragged the body of the deceased through a hole in the skilling; and taking it upon their shoulders, carried it to the saw-pit, threw it in, and covered it over with green boughs. Having finished the work, they returned to the company, and with a diabolical insensibility, kept up their jovial mirth till after midnight. It was not long, however, before the horrid deed was brought to light. Providentially, a man had been at work for several days upon the ground in the neighbourhood of the pit, and in the evening he used to leave his hoe in this very place. On going next morning to look for it, he was surprised to see the pit covered with so many green boughs; and suspecting that some stolen property might be concealed under them, he began to remove them, when, to his astonishment, he discovered the hand of a dead man. He then called out to another person who was cutting firewood at a small distance: three or four others came at the same time, among whom was Jones, who immediately charged the man who had discovered Mr. Clode in this melancholy condition with the horrid deed, and wanted to tie his hands with an handkerchief, and take him into the camp a prisoner. The wretch now came into the camp with tidings of the murder, expressed his concern for the death of a man he so dearly loved, and to whom he was so deeply indebted for

his attention to him and his family in times of sickness, and again endeavoured to throw the blame of it upon the person who first discovered the deceased. From the tale he told, and the concurrence of other circumstances, the man was committed to prison ; but at the very time Jones was talking in this manner, another person came up and said to him, “ Jones, you are the murderer ! Blood is traced from the pit directly to your door.” He then began to protest his innocence ; and when he was taken to the pit and ordered to look at the body, and to touch it, he replied, “ Yes I will, and kiss him too, if you please ; for I loved him as my brother.”

The wretch, indeed, had reason to love Mr. Clode, as appears from his wife’s declaration to Mr. Johnson while she was under sentence of death. When he was speaking to her of the horrid deed, and lamenting the unhappy end of a friend he so highly esteemed, she made this reply, “ O Sir, that dear man was the saving both of my life and the life of my husband. His attention to Trotman was such as I never saw in any other person in my life. Three times a day he came to visit him, washing and cleaning his sores ; had it not been for his attention, he would certainly have lost his hand.” How shocking is it to think that monsters exist in the world who could murder the man to whom they were under so many and so great obligations !

By an order from the governor, the house in which the murder was perpetrated was pulled down on the Saturday, and burnt to ashes ; a temporary gallows was erected upon the spot ; and at twelve o’clock the three inhuman wretches were conveyed

in a cart to the place, and were there launched into eternity, to appear before the tribunal of the Great Judge of the world. The bodies of the two men were hung in chains near the place; that of the woman was given to the surgeons for dissection. ^x

After the departure of the eleven missionaries to Port Jackson, seven others still remained in Otaheite, namely, Messrs. Eyre, Jefferson, Lewis, Broomhall, Harris, Bicknell, and Nott. With the view of removing all temptation to do violence to their persons for the sake of their property, they immediately delivered up the blacksmith's shop, and the public store-room, into the hands of Pomare, and they at the same time offered to surrender to him their private effects if he desired it; but this he was so honourable as to decline. Jealousy and fear, however, continued to haunt their minds; nor was it altogether without apparent reason. Reports of the people's design to attack and plunder them were constantly reaching their ears; attempts were even made, almost every night, to rob them of what few articles they still possessed; the natives were often extremely tumultuous in their behaviour, and now took liberties with them which they durst not before have used; rumours of war were likewise prevalent through the country: All these circumstances combined, could not fail to distress the missionaries, and to increase those fears which the human mind, in such a situation, is so naturally disposed to form. In a short time, indeed, war actually began. Pomare having killed two of the men of Opare, on account of the assault made on

^x Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 299.

the four missionaries, the inhabitants of that district rose in arms to revenge their death. Peace was offered them, but they rejected the offer. The chief, therefore, attacked them without delay, drove them back to the mountains, laid waste their habitations, and killed about thirteen of them; after which they were glad to listen to terms of accommodation.^y

By degrees, the apprehensions of the missionaries subsided, as it appeared that the natives had no serious design to injure them, either in their persons or property. But when they began to enjoy peace from without, a circumstance occurred among themselves which occasioned them inexpressible distress. Mr. Lewis, who had of late resided by himself at a place called Ahonoo, declared his determination to take one of the native women as his wife. For some time past, indeed, his behaviour towards the Otaheitan females had been extremely indecent. Several of the missionaries had repeatedly spoken to him on the subject, in private, and they had likewise adverted to the impropriety of such practices in their public discourses. But as he had neglected or despised these early cautions, it was now in vain that they remonstrated with him on the impropriety and unlawfulness of the measure he proposed: and as a few months before, when this very question was agitated among them, it was agreed, that should any of their number connect himself with a heathen woman, he should no longer be considered as a missionary, or as a member of the church, they not only refused

^y Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 39, 44, 47.

to sanction his marriage, by performing the usual ceremony, but on the following day they proceeded to pass sentence of excommunication upon him. This certainly was a harsh and precipitate step. Of the unlawfulness of Mr. Lewis' proposal there can be no doubt, since it is contrary to the express injunctions of scripture; yet surely his brethren should have employed friendly expostulations with him in private, and church censures of a gentler nature, before they had recourse to so severe a sentence. Mr. Lewis had not yet, at least professedly, consummated his marriage: time, therefore, might have been allowed to elapse, to see whether he would proceed to such a measure. We cannot, indeed, but remark, that culpable as his conduct was, the behaviour of his brethren toward him appears to have been throughout unfeeling, ungenerous, and unkind; and afterwards, when he made some proposals for an accommodation with them, they by no means manifested that readiness to listen to them, which the spirit of Christianity required. They continued, indeed, to supply him with such articles as he desired, so far as they were able; and it is proper to add, that he, together with his wife, uniformly attended public worship on the Lord's day, and he was at the same time regular in attending to prayer, and the reading of the Holy Scriptures in private.^z

In this state of excommunication from the church, Mr. Lewis was so unhappy as to remain until his death, which happened about sixteen months after he was excluded by his brethren. It was sudden

^z Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 57, 125.

and unexpected, and the cause of it was never fully unravelled. After having ascertained the fact, some of the missionaries went to his habitation, and on their arrival they found his body dressed in a check shirt, a light waistcoat, a pair of trowsers, and shoes on his feet. It was lying on a bedstead, under the roof of his house, but not in his sleeping apartment, and was covered with a piece of country cloth. His forehead, his face, his belly, and his left arm, were severely bruised; a deep cut extended over one of the corners of his mouth, toward the nose; there was also a scratch or two on his hands, but no where any appearance of fracture. On turning him round, nothing like external violence was discovered on his back; but the blood gushed from his right ear as from a fountain, and a thin ichorous matter, of a dark brown colour, and a disagreeable smell, bubbled through his lips. His belly was prodigiously distended, and scarcely yielded to the greatest pressure; but in the small degree in which it did yield, it greatly increased the discharge from his mouth. Though he had been dead only eighteen or nineteen hours, according to the account of the natives, the corpse was already extremely offensive.^a

On examining into the circumstances of his death, the reports of the natives were very various and contradictory. One said, that, like a man out of his senses, he ran against the boards of his room, first at one end, then at the other; next on one side, afterwards on the other; last of all, he ran out

^a Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 145, 149.

at the door, threw himself headlong among the stones, and so was killed. A second said, that he was ill and died in bed about the middle of the day. A third declared that he was not ill, but that he died suddenly. At first his wife, with whom he appears to have lived on very unhappy terms, and who displayed the utmost insensibility on this occasion, represented him as having killed himself by dashing his head against the stones. Afterwards, however, when more particularly questioned on the subject, she stated no such circumstance; but said, that after preparing for bed, he went to the door, and walked for some time up and down the pavement; at last, she heard him fall, and on going out with a lamp, she found him fallen upon a stone, and the blood running from the wounds. Laying down the light, she ran for her parents, who lived at the distance of about twenty yards; and on her return with them, he was quite dead. Her testimony, however, was extremely suspicious, not only from the circumstance of this striking variation, but there was a man who appeared to act as her prompter, and at one time, after telling her what to say, turned to his companions, and said in a private manner: "That is one part, but say nothing about stones following." Other accounts, indeed, stated, that Mr. Lewis was killed by some of the natives; and upwards of a twelvemonth after it was reported to the missionaries, that he was murdered by certain persons of the place where he resided, on account of the woman with whom he had so unhappily connected himself. Though the evidence is by no means decisive, we are strongly inclined to

believe that Mr. Lewis fell a sacrifice to the treachery of the natives. ^b

Scarcely had six months elapsed after this melancholy event, when the missionaries in Otaheite met with a new and unexpected trial. Mr. Broomhall, one of their number, declared himself an infidel. For a considerable time past, indeed, a great want of spirituality had been observed in his prayers; and in his sermons, the name of Christ was scarcely so much as mentioned. After this change took place in his religious sentiments, he became intimate with a young woman, a visitor of Pomare's sister; though when urged by the natives to live with her, he told them he would not do so, till he had declared himself no priest; that is, that he was no longer a missionary. In vain did his brethren reason; in vain did they expostulate with him: Mr. Broomhall was proof against all their arguments, though he was so candid as to acknowledge that he now enjoyed far less happiness than formerly, when he possessed the supports and comforts of religion. The missionaries themselves appear now to have been sensible of the undue severity of their conduct to the unfortunate Mr. Lewis; in their treatment of Mr. Broomhall, at least, they acted with far less precipitation, and with far greater moderation. Finding him, however, obstinate in his infidel principles, they at length suspended him from all office in the church, and from the ordinance of the Lord's Supper; and as this had no salutary effect upon him, they afterwards passed sentence of excommunication upon him. For a considerable

^b Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 147, 217.

time past, there had been very suspicious circumstances with regard to him and some of the females of Otaheite; and immediately after his excommunication, he avowedly connected himself with one of them. He lived with her in the same house as the missionaries for a number of weeks; but as she then left him and slept with another man, he took a second mistress, with whom he cohabited until his departure from the island. Such were the moral effects, or probably such rather was the cause of his infidel principles.^c

In May 1800, before intelligence of these painful events could reach England, twelve new missionaries sailed for Otaheite in the *Royal Admiral*, a ship with convicts for New South Wales, commanded by Captain William Wilson, who had been one of the mates of the *Duff*, in both her voyages to the Pacific Ocean. Scarcely had they left their native land, when they discovered that the prisoners had brought with them not only impaired constitutions, but the seeds of various diseases; and that now when so great a number as three hundred were crowded together, the prison became the nursery of these disorders. Besides flux and scurvy, a malignant putrid fever broke out among them, and spread most alarmingly, especially while they sailed through the torrid zone. During the voyage to Rio Janeiro, more than one half of the convicts, besides many of the sailors, were taken ill of this and other disorders; and no fewer than forty died, among whom, was Mr. Turner the surgeon. Near the latitude where the *Duff* was captured,

^c Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 177.—Evan. Mag.

they fell in with three French frigates, and would no doubt have been taken by them, had not God in his providence inclined the commodore to accompany them to Rio Janeiro. On their arrival at that port, the fever disappeared; but it afterwards broke out again, not only among the convicts, but among the missionaries, most of whom caught it, and Mr. Morris, one of them, died. During the voyage, the missionaries were not idle, but laboured, with great assiduity, in communicating religious instruction to the crew, and particularly to the unfortunate convicts. For sometime they daily went down to the orlop deck, the place where the miserable creatures were confined, and read and explained the Scriptures, conversed, and prayed with them; and though they were a body of ignorant hardened wretches, yet some of them appeared anxious for instruction, and two prayer meetings were established among them. Afterwards, when the fever increased and became so very alarming, the missionaries judged it inexpedient to visit them in prison; but they still embraced every opportunity of speaking to them on the subject of religion, when they were brought on deck to get the air.^d

In July 1801, the Royal Admiral, after landing the convicts at Port Jackson, arrived at Otaheite with the missionaries on board. Having met by appointment with Otoo the king, Pomare, and others of the chiefs, Captain Wilson spoke to them concerning the reasons which induced the missionaries originally to come among them, the reception they

^d Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 255; vol. ix. p. 81, 490; vol. x. p. 73.—Miss. Mag. vol. vi. p. 79.

gave them on their arrival, and the benefits they had already derived from them: He mentioned a few instances in which the missionaries had been ill-treated, and endeavoured to convince them how easy it would be for him to retaliate upon them; that these things were known in Britain; but the chiefs there, still wishing to do them good, had sent other men in the room of those whom their violence had driven away, and expected them to be better treated. Then taking each of the new missionaries by the hand, and leading them up to each of the chiefs, he introduced them by name. With this ceremony they were much pleased, and promised to protect and support them to the utmost of their power. Before he went away, however, Pomare inquired, Whether the new missionaries would not fight for him? Captain Wilson replied, "No, they would fight none, unless in defending themselves in their own habitation." This appeared to sink their value not a little. The chief, however, replied, "Very well, if they will not fight, he would fight for them; but yet he thought it very strange that King George, who had so many fighting men, should send none to his assistance." Before the Royal Admiral left the island, the missionaries, who now amounted to thirteen, were organized into a regular body, and regulations were made for the conduct of divine worship, of their daily employments, their visits to the natives, and a variety of other circumstances. ^c *

^c Evan. Mag. vol. x. p. 283.—Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 233, 241.

* Mr. Broomhall left Otaheite in the Royal Admiral, and on his arrival in China remained in that country in quest of a situ-

In April 1802, the tranquillity of the island was unhappily interrupted, in consequence of a dispute about Oroo, which though only a shapeless log of wood, the Otaheitans called their great god. At a numerous meeting held in Attahoora, Otoo the king, after having, in vain, demanded it from the

ation. Concerning this unhappy young man, we heard nothing for several years. It appears, however, that he remained in the East and went to sea, though in what capacity we do not know. He continued for a considerable time in a course of backsliding, yet still he was not without some degree of fear on account of the consequences. Several very alarming accidents at sea, and the breaking of his thigh at Madras, contributed to arouse him from this state of insensibility, and to fill him, for a season, with dreadful apprehensions of divine wrath. He attempted to pray, but started from his knees, shocked at his own baseness, and despairing of obtaining mercy from that God whom he had so grievously offended. In fact, he considered himself as having nothing before him "but a certain fearful looking for of judgment and of fiery indignation to devour him." Having afterwards come to Calcutta, he more than once called on the Baptist Missionaries at Serampore, without, however, revealing his proper name or his former character; and in a letter which he addressed to one of them in May 1809, he draws the following dreary picture of the melancholy state of his mind:

"I have been much engaged with my vessel of late; but the truth is, I have not known what to write. I might say something satisfactory, perhaps of what was foreign to my feelings; but should I attempt to describe the state of my mind, I fear you would not be altogether pleased with the picture, unless you can look with pleasure upon a landscape, where the artist, in attempting to embellish the most prominent figures, had daubed it with such a collection of dark colours, that the whole piece was rendered odious. Such would be the description of my feelings. If I should say I feel daily aspirations of soul after God, yet I feel my passions chained to the earth, and my conduct such that it will not stand the test of Christianity! If prayer is at one time a delight, at others it is an intolerable

inhabitants of that district, who had it in their possession, took it from them by force. Roused with indignation by this insult, the Attahoorans rose in rebellion against him, and being joined by the inhabitants of several other districts, they were at first victorious in their battles with the royalists, whom

burden; and though dreadfully convinced of its necessity, I can neglect it for days, almost without a sigh! I am convinced of the pleasure attending the study of the Holy Scriptures, and yet could read almost any thing in preference. I feel a pleasure in the worship of the Most High, and yet am abashed, and even uncomfortable in the presence of a Christian! I am perfectly convinced of the mercy that awaits a returning prodigal, and yet I think the glory of God is concerned in shutting up the avenues to it. In short, if the law of the Eternal renders it necessary that "the backslider shall be filled with his own ways," may not his justice withhold those powerful operations of the Holy Spirit, which are absolutely necessary for his return, while he keeps his conscience sufficiently awake to make him miserable? May not one in the situation now described, be deprived of every comfort, stripped of every grace, and through his folly in despising the favour of the Spirit, be suffered to proceed to the last hour of his existence, without enjoying these blessings. This letter must certainly appear strange to you; but if you had ever looked upon the Saviour as the *ultimatum* of your desires, and had really enjoyed experimental religion as a consequence, and yet afterwards had doubted of his existence—endeavoured to persuade yourself that the Bible was a forgery—the soul mortal—and consequently, that there was no hereafter; whilst your conduct corresponded with your sentiments, you would not be much surprised at it."

Soon after writing this letter, Mr. Broomhall was laid on a sick-bed at Calcutta, when, we are told, God revealed his mercy to him, softened his heart, removed his fears that his sins were unpardonable, and enabled him to hope that God would accept of him through the righteousness of Jesus Christ. Hitherto, he had said nothing of the situation he had held in

they treated with the most wanton barbarity. In this exigency, Pomare obtained the assistance of some British seamen, from one or two ships that were then on the island; and though the rebels advanced boldly to the fight, yet they were quickly repulsed by the royalists; and no sooner did they discover the sailors, than they were overwhelmed with consternation, and fled in all directions. Seventeen of the enemy were killed on the spot, and among others, one of the ringleaders of the rebellion. The Attahoorans, however, were not discouraged, and still refused to submit; but, at length, contrary to all expectation, peace was concluded, and tranquillity restored throughout the island. During these commotions, the missionaries were under no small apprehension for their personal safety, and made the best arrangements they were able for their own defence, in case they should be attacked by the rebels. Even this subjected them to considerable loss; as they were under the necessity of destroying their gardens, and their chapel, in order to clear the ground around them, and to prevent an unseen assault.^f

^f Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 64, 110.

Otaheite; but one day when he called on Mr. Marshman, after some conversation about the state of his soul, he exclaimed, "You now behold an apostate missionary! I am Benjamin Broomhall, who left his brethren nine years ago. Is it possible you can behold me without despising me?" Mr. Marshman's surprise at this discovery it is not easy to conceive, far less describe. It was now the wish of this returning prodigal to join his Brethren in Otaheite; but for the present he went on another voyage, and since that time we have heard nothing of him. *Authen. Narrative*, p. 204.—*Circular Letters relative to the Baptist Missions in India*, vol. ii. p. 35.

Hitherto the missionaries had found the acquisition of the language attended with inexpressibly greater difficulties than were generally expected. All the vocabularies they had seen of it, were essentially defective and erroneous, not only in the fundamental principles of the grammar, but with regard to the pronunciation, orthography, and signification of the words. It was represented as uncommonly easy of acquisition; but they had found the contrary by long and sad experience. In respect of some of the common occurrences of life, a person of ordinary capacity may, indeed, soon make himself understood; but to acquire such a knowledge of it, as was necessary to convey instruction to the natives, and especially instruction of a religious nature, was a most arduous task. It was described as barren of words, but neither was this correct. It is destitute, indeed, as might naturally be supposed, of all such terms as are common among civilized nations, relative to the arts and sciences, manufactures and commerce; but with regard to those objects, with which an Otaheitan is conversant, it is exceedingly copious. The simple roots, are only a few hundred in number; but these, by the help of affixes and prefixes, may easily be multiplied to five or six thousand, so as to express ideas with the utmost precision. The Otaheitan language abounds with vowels, even in a greater degree than any navigator who had given specimens of it, ever imagined. Many words consist entirely of vowels, each of which has a distinct enunciation; but the rapidity with which the natives uttered them, rendered it extremely difficult to catch the precise sound. As a natural consequence of this

structure of their words, vast numbers of them have nearly the same pronunciation, though widely different in sense; a circumstance which proves a source of no small embarrassment to a learner. Besides, the Otaheitans make frequent use of abbreviations, by which means the words were often so shortened, that the missionaries were extremely puzzled, and mistook them for new terms. The people too, often adopted their erroneous pronunciation, as persons in every country are apt to do to children, and thus instead of correcting, confirmed them in their mistakes. From these, and a variety of other circumstances, the progress of the missionaries in acquiring the language was extremely slow, and it was often no small task to unlearn what they with great difficulty had previously learned.^s

Ever since their arrival on the island, the missionaries had endeavoured, by conversation and other means, to disseminate, among the natives, some knowledge of Christianity; but now the time arrived, when they were able to proclaim to them, "in their own tongue, the wonderful works of God." Just before the outbreaking of the rebellion, two of them made a circuit through the island, and preached the gospel in every district except Attahoora. The natives assembled to hear them, in companies of from twenty, to a hundred and sixty; and numbers of them listened with considerable attention, though others appeared extremely careless, and acted in a very disorderly manner. After the suppression of the rebellion, the mission-

^s Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 117, 135; vol. iii. p. 179.

aries proceeded in their labours of love, and even extended them to the neighbouring island of Eimeo. In some cases, the natives seemed pleased with what they heard, and said it was "good talk," but in other instances, they treated it with indifference and contempt, and appeared perfectly hardened in their evil ways. It was next to impossible to convince them of the value of their soul, or even to make them understand its nature, for most of them seemed to consider it as something without them, that resided in the other world, and visited them only at certain seasons, as for instance, in dreaming. One evil very prevalent among them was the taking of the names of Jehovah and Jesus Christ in vain, though they were cautioned against it almost in every discourse. One day, Mr. Jefferson heard some of them speaking in a familiar manner of Jesus Christ; but they asserted he was a God of no power, and that their idol Oroo was the mighty god. They, at the same time, affirmed, that the God of England was not good, in proof of which they alleged, the disorders introduced among them by our sailors, and the shipwreck of the Norfolk, a vessel which had been lately lost upon the island. One man, in particular, of a most savage aspect, pointed at a deformed person present, and protested that such things could not be the work of their own god Oroo, but of the evil god of England. Indeed, they seldom failed wantonly to call on the missionaries, to look on those who had broken backs, the ague, the flux, the venereal disease, all of which, they alleged, came from England. In short, they attributed to us all their evils, and said there were very few men left; nothing but

stones remained, to use their own emphatic phraseology. * The bodily diseases under which many of them groaned, instead of disposing them to embrace the gospel, irritated them against it; and, as if the missionaries had only been mocking them, they replied, “You tell us of salvation, and behold we are dying;” and when they were told it was the salvation of their souls from the wrath of God, not of their bodies from disease, in the present life, they answered, “We want no other salvation,

* It is satisfactory to learn from the missionaries, that there is no good reason for thinking that all, or even most, of these diseases were introduced into Otaheite by ships from England; and they suppose that the Otaheitans themselves did not believe the charge, though they often brought it forward. Captain Cook, they said, brought the intermittent fever, the crooked backs, and the scrofula, which broke out in their necks, breasts, groins, and armpits; Vancouver the bloody-flux, which in a few months carried off great numbers of them, and then abated; and some alleged it was Bligh who brought the scrofula among them. The missionaries, however, assert, that they got no disease from England except the venereal disorder; and for that they have to blame their own women, as well as our sailors. As it is said neither Cook nor Vancouver had a sick person on board, the flux and fever, if this statement be correct, could not be introduced by them, nor did the missionaries know of any ship which had either of these diseases on board when at Otaheite; and as the intermittent fever, which is the most common and most fatal of their disorders, is not an infectious disease, but arises from the effluvia of marshes, it could not have been communicated by contagion from any of our sailors, even had they been labouring under it. With regard to the crooked backs, the Otaheitans themselves allow that they are the effect of the Hotatte, a disease very prevalent on the island, and which could not come from England, as it does not prevail in this country. *Miss. Trans.* vol. ii. p. 120, 349.

but to live in this world.” Often, when the missionaries exhorted them to turn from their idols, and to worship the true God, they asked, Whether any of the chiefs had believed, and turned to Jehovah? They frequently mentioned Pomare’s killing men for sacrifices to their idols, and told them to go and preach to him and the king. Besides, they said, that if they embraced the Christian religion, their own gods would kill them. Many of them, indeed, acquired considerable knowledge of the doctrines of the gospel; but their hearts remained unsanctified, and their conduct unchanged. They were wonderfully bigoted to their own superstition and idolatry; and though they sometimes acknowledged that they were fools and knew nothing, yet they quickly had recourse to their vain delusions, and by means of these refuges of lies, smothered the convictions of their consciences. Hence, it often happened, that when, at one time, the missionaries met with any encouragement among them, the very next time they visited them they were more discouraged than ever.^h

In September 1803, Pomare, the father of the king, died very suddenly. One day after dinner, he and two of his men got into a single canoe, and paddled towards the brig Dart, a vessel from London, which was then lying off the island. When they had almost reached her, the chief suddenly felt a pain in his back, which caused him raise himself with a jerk, and put his hand to the place affected; but no sooner had he done this, than he fell with

^h Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 57, 121, 123, 126, 133, 286, 303, 327, 338.

his face to the bottom of the canoe, and never spoke more. As Pomare was a warm and stedfast friend of the missionaries, especially at first, it may not be improper to give a short sketch of his history and character.

Pomare was born in Opare, and by birth was the chief of that district only; but by his own superior talents, together with the assistance of the deserters from the various ships which visited Otaheite, particularly the crew of the *Bounty*, he raised himself to a kind of sovereignty over the whole island. With regard to his personal qualities, he was a savage of unusual grace and dignity; tall, stout, and well-proportioned. There was something in his appearance which indicated him to be no ordinary man; grave in his countenance, majestic in his deportment, engaging in his manners; but under the appearance of candour, he concealed no small degree of hypocrisy. In prosperity, he was insufferably haughty to his enemies; in adversity, he was no less dejected in his own mind. As a governor, he was extremely oppressive; but yet it was generally allowed that the island had enjoyed a far greater degree of tranquillity during his reign, than while the several districts were independent of each other. Perhaps, however, the most remarkable trait in his character was a species of prudence and foresight, rarely found among savages; a mind which was capable of forming certain plans, and of adhering to them, with a view to the distant advantages which would result from them. Erecting houses, building canoes, and cultivating the ground, were favourite employments with him; and the works of this description which he accom-

plished, place both his talents and his power in a very extraordinary light. His conduct to such Europeans as visited the island, and the countenance he gave the missionaries in particular, were the effects of this political foresight. Resisting, in the first instance, that natural impulse which would have tempted a savage to plunder them without delay, he encouraged them to settle on the island, in the hope that he himself and his country would ultimately reap greater and more permanent advantages from them.

But though Pomare was the friend of the missionaries, he was at the same time the very soul of the superstition of his own country. Many were the morais and altars reared at his command all over the island; and besides innumerable costly gifts of canoes, clothes, and other articles, he was perpetually offering up human sacrifices to propitiate the wrath of his idols. Mr. Elder, one of the missionaries, supposed that for this purpose he had murdered not fewer than two thousand persons. On the whole, the Otaheitans conceived Pomare to have been the greatest chief they ever had: it is at least, certain, he did not leave his equal on the island.ⁱ

Besides preaching the gospel throughout the island, the missionaries, especially Mr. Davies, now began to pay particular attention to the instruction of the children, in the hope that some serious impression might be made on their young and tender minds. The number who in various places

ⁱ Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 147, 292, 295, 297.—Turnbull's Voyage round the world, vol. ii. p. 236.—Relig. Mon. vol. ii. p. 213.

submitted to be catechised was, on the whole, considerable, and the progress which they made was as great as could reasonably be expected. This exercise, however, though highly important, was attended with many difficulties, some of which it may not be improper to mention.

First, There was no way of collecting any number of children together. It was necessary to go to the several places or houses where they were; to take one here, another there, and two perhaps in a third place. They often refused to go even twenty or thirty yards to meet with others, a circumstance which consumed much time, and materially diminished the utility of the exercise.

Secondly, To find convenient time was no easy matter. After the novelty of the catechising was over, every little engagement was deemed an apology for neglecting it. Sometimes all were fishing, or they were in the mountains seeking plantains; at other times they were preparing their ovens, or there was some diversion going on in the neighbourhood. To try to teach them at such seasons was perfectly vain.

Thirdly, The presence of the adults was a serious inconvenience. It was very rare to find the children alone, some of the old people being usually at hand. This would have been an advantage, if they would have listened with attention; but instead of this, they commonly kept up an incessant chattering among themselves, or with the children, so that often nothing could be done for noise and clamour. At other times, they would sit close to the children, and whisper in their ears the most nonsensical and ridiculous answers, with the view of affording di-

version to the company. Such of the children as were come any length, they endeavoured to put to shame, by mocking and laughing at them. Besides, they frequently contradicted whatever was said, and spoke of Jehovah and of Jesus Christ in the most contemptuous manner.

Fourthly, The wandering disposition of the young people, was no small bar to their improvement. In Otaheite, every child able to climb an ooroo or a cocoa tree, is independent of its parents, and wanders wherever it pleases, without regard to them or any of its friends. Hence, they rarely remained long enough in one place, to learn any thing to purpose; the same children could seldom be catechised twice successively; and as they were often absent for a fortnight or three weeks together, they usually forgot much of what they had learned by the time they returned.

Lastly, The Otaheitans had an idea that the missionaries were their debtors, and ought to pay them for submitting to instruction. Instigated by their parents, the children used often to say to their teachers, "You come here frequently, but what do you bring us? Give us pins, beads, and fish hooks, or else we will not be taught." As the missionaries had no presents to give, the young people became shy, and some, when they saw their teacher coming, would run away and conceal themselves till he was past.^k

But notwithstanding these various obstacles, Mr. Davies and others of the missionaries persevered in their catechetical labours among the children; and

^k Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 306, 315.

could their young pupils have been instructed more frequently, and by themselves, there is no doubt they would, in a short time, have made considerable progress in Christian knowledge. Many of them, even as it was, learned the whole of the catechism, which the missionaries had written in the Otaheitan language; and numbers of them continued to retain what they had been taught, after they had been absent for several months.¹

Not long after the missionaries settled in Otaheite, Otoo, the king, begged one of them to teach him the Hebrew language, and asked, at the same time, Whether the King of England was acquainted with it? What had excited in his mind this strange desire, it is not easy to conjecture, unless, perhaps, the singular appearance of the Hebrew characters had caught his fancy.^m He now, however, made an acquisition, which to him was of a more useful and substantial nature, having learned from the missionaries to read and write his own language. Of this we have an interesting specimen, in a letter which he addressed to the Missionary Society, in reply to one which they had written to him: It was composed entirely by himself in the Otaheitan language, was then translated by the missionaries into English, and of this the King, who, since the death of his Father, had assumed the name of Pomare, wrote the following copy: *

¹ Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 321.

^m Ibid. vol. i. p. 51.

* A fac-simile of this letter may be found in Volume Third of the Missionary Transactions. The characters are well formed, and the whole is written with considerable ease and neatness.

Matavai, Otaheite, January 1st, 1807.

FRIENDS,

I wish you every blessing, friends, in your residence in your country, with success in teaching this bad land, this foolish land, this wicked land; this land which is ignorant of good, this land that knoweth not the true God, this regardless land.

Friends, I wish you health and prosperity: May I also live, and may Jehovah save us all.

Friends, with respect to your letter you wrote to me, I have this to say to you, that your business with me and your wishes, I fully consent to, and shall consequently banish Oroo, and send him to Raiatea.

Friends, I do therefore believe and shall obey your word.

Friends, I hope you also will consent to my request, which is this: I wish you to send a great number of men, women, and children here.

Friends, send also property and cloth for us, and we also will adopt English customs. *

* The Otaheitans now carried the affectation of English dress so far, that they would give almost any price for an old black or blue coat, and a shirt. No man thought he could go before the King on public occasions with any appearance of consequence, unless he had a musket, a coat, and a shirt; or, at least, a coat to accompany his musket. Some of them, it may easily be supposed, would make very grotesque figures. Their regard to England was manifested by other circumstances. Among other ceremonies which took place on the King's return from Eimeo, where he had been for sometime, was the sending of a piece of cloth and a small hog to the missionaries as a present for King George. On all public occasions, the names of the principal chiefs are called over, and something given for each of

Friends, send also plenty of muskets and powder, for wars are frequent in our country. Should I be killed, you will have nothing in Tahete: Do not come here when I am dead. Tahete is a regardless country; and should I die with sickness, do not come here. This also I wish, that you would send me all the curious things that you have in England. Also send me every thing necessary for writing; paper, ink, and pens, in abundance: Let no writing utensil be wanting.

Friends, I have done, and have nothing at all more to ask you for. As for your desire to instruct Tahete, 'tis what I fully acquiesce in. 'Tis a common thing for people not to understand at first; but your object is good, and I fully consent to it, and shall cast off all evil customs.

What I say is truth, and no lie; it is the real truth.

This is all I have to write; I have done.

Friends, write to me that I may know what you have to say.

I wish you life and every blessing.

May I also live, and may Jehovah save us all.

POMARE, King of Tahete, &c. &c.ⁿ

For my Friends,
the Missionary Society, London.

ⁿ Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 175.

them: if they are not there themselves, some person answers in their name, and receives the present. Ever since the time of Captain Cook, his Britannic Majesty has had the honour of having his name added to the list; and when it is called, if any Englishman be there, he answers and receives the present; if there is none, it is given to the natives. *Miss. Trans.* vol. iii. p. 170, 172.

In November 1808, Messrs. Eyre, Henry, Davies, Elder, Tessier, and Warner, six of the missionaries, after labouring so long with little or no appearance of success, left Otaheite, and retired to Huaheine. Of late years, great quantities of muskets and gunpowder had been introduced into Otaheite by the various ships which visited the island: they were, in fact, the principal articles which they bartered with the natives. The missionaries had long been apprehensive that this would at length give rise to a civil war, especially as the King was resolved to have all the muskets into his own hands, and the people were no less determined to retain them: a considerable party was already formed against him, and matters appeared for several years to be drawing to some great crisis.^o The storm, however, had been averted so long, that the missionaries had almost begun to flatter themselves with the continuance of peace; but lately they received a letter from the King, informing them, that it was likely the island would soon be involved in war, and warning them to be on their guard. From this period, the alarm became general; the rebel party daily increased in numbers and in strength; and it seemed as if hostilities would immediately commence. Meanwhile, the Brig *Perseverance*, from Port Jackson, anchored in Matavai bay; and Pomare, notwithstanding his strong attachment to the missionaries, advised them, especially the married brethren, to consult their own safety, by embracing this opportunity of leaving the island. At one time, he himself intended to quit Otaheite, and actually

^o Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 36, 189.

obtained a passage in this vessel to Huaheine; but afterwards he changed his mind, apprehending he would by this means lose all his authority at home: "Perhaps, however," said he, "the people may ere long cut off my head, as the people of France treated their king;" for it seems this tragical event is not unknown even in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Agreeably to the advice of the King, the missionaries resolved to leave the island; but on learning that he had determined to stay, it was agreed that Hayward, Nott, Wilson, and Scott, who were all unmarried should remain with him; a circumstance which appeared to afford him great satisfaction.

For some weeks after the departure of the missionaries, there was a cessation of hostilities between Pomare and the rebels; but the king, infatuated by one of his false prophets, ventured at length to attack them; and as they had the advantage not only in respect of numbers, but of ground, his party was repulsed, some of his principal warriors were slain, and numbers of muskets taken by the enemy. Encouraged by this success, the rebels now over-ran the country, and committed terrible devastations. The houses of the missionaries were burnt; their gardens laid waste; their plantations demolished; their cattle seized; and the rest of their property plundered. On receiving intelligence of Pomare's defeat, the missionaries who still remained on the island sailed to Eimeo, which lies about four leagues distant; the king himself followed them in about three weeks; and, after some time, all of them, except Mr. Nott, retired to Huaheine. Pomare afterwards returned to Otaheite

and engaged the rebels; but was again defeated with the loss of twenty-four of his warriors, so that he was now obliged to act only on the defensive, until he should receive some re-enforcements which he expected.

In October 1809, the whole of the missionaries in Huaheine, with the exception of Mr. Hayward, sailed from that island for New South Wales. Considering the past inauspicious history of the mission, the war in Otaheite, their expulsion from that island, the destruction of their houses, the loss of their property, the improbability of Pomare's restoration, the terrible slaughter which was likely to take place before the establishment of tranquillity, even should he eventually be restored, they thought it could serve no valuable purpose to persist in cultivating a field which for so many years had proved so completely barren, and which now afforded, if possible, less prospect of fruit than ever. On arriving in New South Wales, they obtained a supply of their present necessities, and were provided with the means of supporting themselves in useful and respectable situations. ^p

Thus terminated to human appearance, the mission to the island of Otaheite, the inhabitants of which had not known the time of their merciful visitation, and now it seemed to be closed for ever. Such had been the revolution in the sentiments of the Christian world, that this mission, which at first excited such mighty expectations, and which threw all others into the shade, had long been considered as a kind of forlorn hope. Its total abandonment

^p Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 328, 332.

appeared now the voice of God in his Providence, and that so plainly expressed, that it seemed scarcely possible to mistake the interpretation: its resumption, we believe, would scarcely have found a single advocate. We acknowledge that to us, this appeared nothing better than a waste of missionary strength, which might have been employed to far greater advantage in cultivating some other field, which promised a richer and more abundant harvest. The population of Otaheite was now so small, and was diminishing so rapidly, that it seemed not improbable the present race would in the course of a few years become extinct. Captain Cook computed the inhabitants at 204,000, and subsequent navigators even exceeded that calculation. Mr. William Wilson, on the arrival of the *Duff*, made a tour of the greater part of the island, with the express view of ascertaining the population, and from the observations he made, he estimated it at 16,050 souls. The missionaries, about six years after, stated that the inhabitants did not exceed seven or eight thousand: some of them even supposed there were not more than five thousand. The population, indeed, was diminishing every year in consequence of the promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, the murder of their infant children, the practice of human sacrifices, and the havock of the venereal disorder, and other maladies.^a Cheerless, however, as was the prospect before them, the missionaries did return; and now their labours were attended with a success, to which, in modern times, there is no parallel.

^a Cook's Second Voyage, vol. i. p. 349.—Miss. Voy. p. xviii. 181, 215.—Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 129, 144, 336; vol. iii. p. 36; —Quarterly Chronicle, vol. i. p. 366.

In July 1811, Bicknell and Scott, and a few weeks after, Henry, Davies, and Wilson, sailed from New South Wales for Otaheite. They had not been long in the colony, when they felt a wish to return and resume their labours on that island. Pomare had of late written them several letters in the most affectionate strain, entreating them to come back, and expressing the deepest sorrow at their absence. On reaching the Georgian islands, they took up their residence on Eimeo, as the continuance of peace in Otaheite appeared somewhat doubtful.^r

Though Pomare had formerly treated the missionaries with the utmost friendship and respect, and had learned from them to read and write his own language, yet he shewed no disposition to embrace the gospel. He was even averse to religious instruction, and whenever the subject was introduced, artfully endeavoured to evade it. The missionaries had not, however, been many months in Eimeo, when he came to them, and offered himself as a candidate for baptism, declaring that it was his fixed determination to worship Jehovah the true God, and expressing his desire to be further instructed in the principles of religion. This resolution he gave them to understand, was the result of long and increasing conviction of the truth and excellence of the gospel. With him this does not appear to have been merely the cold assent of the understanding: his sinfulness and misery appear to have made a deep impression on his heart. His letters now formed a striking contrast to that which

^r Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 387, 444.

he addressed a few years before to the Missionary Society: they breathe a spirit of contrition for his sins, and of deep anxiety about his eternal interests, which is rarely found among the princes of this world.

“May Jehovah and Jesus Christ,” says he, in one letter to the missionaries, “may the Three-One, our only trust and Saviour, bless you! May my soul be saved by Jesus Christ! May the anger of Jehovah towards me be appeased, who am a wicked man, guilty of accumulated crimes, of regardlessness, and ignorance of the true God, and of an obstinate perseverance in wickedness! May Jehovah also pardon my foolishness, unbelief, and rejection of the truth! May Jehovah give me his good Spirit, to sanctify my heart, that I may love what is good, and that I may be enabled to put away all my evil customs, and become one of his people, and be saved through Jesus Christ, our only Saviour. You indeed will be saved, you are become the people of God; but I may be banished to hell; God may not regard me: I am a wicked man, and my sins are great and accumulated. But O that we may all be saved through Jesus Christ. May the anger of God toward us all be appeased, for all of us have been disobedient to him as our Lord and Master. Look at the beasts; they are all obedient to him as their lord and master; but we have not obeyed our Lord and Master. Surely we are fools!”

After mentioning in another letter that he had been taken ill a few days before, he adds: “My affliction is great; but if I can only obtain the favour of God before I die, I shall count myself well off. But Oh! should I die with my sins unpardoned,

it will be ill indeed with me. Oh! may my sins be pardoned, and my soul saved through Jesus Christ! And may Jehovah regard me before I die, and then I shall rejoice because I have obtained the favour of Jehovah."

"I continue," says he, in another letter, "to pray to God without ceasing. Regardless of other things, I am concerned only that my soul may be saved by Jesus Christ! It is my earnest desire, that I may become one of Jehovah's people; and that God may turn away his anger from me, which I deserve for my wickedness, my ignorance of him, and my accumulated crimes."

On another occasion, he says, "I perfectly agree to your request in your letter lately wrote to me, my dear friends, in which you desire my permission to cut down the Tamanu, and the Amai.* Cut them down without regarding the consequences, for a keel for our vessel. What will be the consequence? Shall we be destroyed by the evil spirits? We cannot be destroyed by them; we have a great Saviour, Jesus Christ. Where you lead, regardless of consequences, I this evil man will follow."

"The Three-One can make me good. I venture with all my guilt to Jesus Christ, though I am not equalled in wickedness, not equalled in guilt, not equalled in obstinate disobedience and rejection of the truth, that this very wicked man, may be saved by Jehovah Jesus Christ." ^s

The example of Pomare in renouncing the religion of his ancestors, and in embracing Christianity,

^s Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 188; vol. iv. p. 4, 8, 14.

* These, we suppose, were sacred trees.

produced, as might be expected, a powerful sensation among the inhabitants of Otaheite. Instructions which had lain dormant, and convictions which had been stifled for years, now appeared to revive. Many of the people began to inquire for themselves, and some, notwithstanding the scoffs and derision of their ungodly countrymen, united of their own accord, in a meeting for prayer. Some favourable symptoms appeared about the same time, among the domestics of the missionaries and others of the inhabitants of Eimeo. Their congregations which had hitherto been small, now rapidly increased: the church could not contain the numbers who were anxious for instruction; and though it was enlarged, yet so many crowded to it, that in a short time, it was again too small for the audience. The number of persons who professed to renounce idolatry, daily increased, both in Eimeo and Otaheite. The priest of the district where the missionaries resided, joined them, and publicly committed his god to the flames. Others followed his example, threw away their idols, destroyed their morais, overturned their altars, and used the wood of them to dress common food, of which different classes, and both sexes partook together, in direct violation of the ancient customs of these islands. ^t

In 1815, the idolatrous chiefs in Otaheite, provoked by the apostasy of such multitudes of the people, united together in a confederacy, though previously some of them had been rivals and enemies, to check the progress of so alarming an evil. A night was fixed on when they were to fall on the

^t Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 4, 130, 139, 150, 272.

professors of the new religion, and exterminate them without mercy; but some of the parties being rather dilatory in their movements, and secret intelligence of the plot having been conveyed to the converts, they retired to the island of Eimeo, before their enemies attacked them. The disappointed chiefs now quarrelled among themselves, and the Attahoorans fell upon the party which had invited them. In the contest which ensued, the latter was defeated, and among the slain, was one of their principal chiefs, and a promoter of the war. The Attahoorans being joined by the inhabitants of two other districts, burned, and plundered, and laid waste the country. The question about religion seemed now entirely forgotten: the different parties fought to revenge quarrels which had originated many years before.^u

In the meanwhile, Pomare remained in Eimeo, maintaining a strict neutrality, but receiving all who fled thither for safety. Peace having at length been restored, the people who had fled on account of their religion, were invited to return and take possession of their respective lands. In consequence of this, Pomare and his adherents proceeded to Otaheite in company with the different parties of refugees, in order to reinstate them in their possessions in a formal manner, agreeably to the ancient custom of the island. On their approach, however, the idolatrous party appeared on the beach to oppose their landing, and fired upon them. By the order of the king, the fire was not returned, but a message of peace was sent to them. An apparent recon-

^u Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 273.

ciliation having taken place, several of the people returned peaceably to their own lands. Scarcely, however, had a few days elapsed, when the heathen party taking advantage of the Sabbath, and of the time when the king and the other converts were assembled for divine worship, made a sudden and furious attack upon them, expecting that being taken by surprise, they would be thrown into confusion and prove an easy conquest. In this, however, they were mistaken. Having anticipated such a stratagem as a probable occurrence, the missionaries had warned their people of it before their departure from Eimeo, in consequence of which, they attended worship under arms, and though they were at first thrown into some disorder, yet they soon rallied again. A warm and furious battle ensued, and several fell on both sides. As the whole of the Christian party were not engaged at once, such as had a few moments' respite, fell on their knees crying to Jehovah to protect them, and to support his own cause against the heathen. Soon after the commencement of the battle, the chief of Papara, the principal man on the side of the idolaters was killed. As soon as this was known, the whole of his party were thrown into confusion, and in a short time entirely routed. Pomare treated the vanquished with great moderation and lenity. He gave strict orders that the fugitives should not be pursued, and that the women and children should not be injured. Not a woman or child, accordingly, was hurt, nor was the property of the vanquished plundered. The bodies of the slain, contrary to the common practice, were decently interred,

and the corpse of the chief of Papara was conveyed in a respectful manner to his own district.

Struck with the events of the war, the idolaters unanimously declared they would no longer trust to their gods which had deceived them and sought their ruin; but would embrace the new religion, which must needs be good, since it taught its votaries so much mildness and forbearance. Pomare was now, by universal consent, established in the government of the whole of Otaheite and its dependencies, which he had lost by the rebellion seven years before. He constituted chiefs in the several districts, some of whom had for a considerable time made a profession of Christianity. Idolatry was completely abolished both in Otaheite and Eimeo. The gods were destroyed, the morais demolished, the Arreoy society dissolved, human sacrifices, and the murder of infants abolished. The fate of the great god Oro, which had formerly occasioned such commotions, is not unworthy of notice. At the close of the war, when the idolaters had given up their cause, Pomare sent some of his followers to destroy the house and altars of the idol in Taiarabu. It was supposed by some that the inhabitants of that district would oppose the measure; but they made no resistance. After burning the house, and demolishing the altars and morais, the party brought away the idol on their shoulders, stripped of all its ornaments. The log of wood which constituted the body of the god, was taken to Pomare, and was set up in what might be called his kitchen, to hang baskets of food upon, a very despicable use in the eyes of an Otaheitan. His family idols which had been transmitted to him from his ancestors, the

king presented to the missionaries that they might either destroy them or send them to England, to shew the inhabitants of this country what foolish gods the people of Otaheite had worshipped. They were accordingly forwarded to London, and were lodged in the Museum of the Missionary Society, a memorable trophy of the triumph of Christianity in the Georgian islands, calculated to awaken at once the deepest commiseration for those immortal beings who could make such monstrous figures the object of their confidence and worship, and the liveliest joy, at the reflection, that they were now utterly abolished. ^v

This extraordinary revolution, was not even confined to Otaheite and Eimeo: it extended in a short time to the neighbouring islands, Tetaroa, Tapua-Manu, Huaheine, Raiatea, Taha, Borabora and Marua, in all of which, idolatry was abolished, and Christianity became the professed religion of the inhabitants. The chiefs of these islands, sent repeated messages to the missionaries, entreating them to come and instruct them. Mai, one of the chiefs of Borabora, sent them a letter to remind them, that Jesus Christ and his apostles, did not confine themselves, to one country or one place. Through the instrumentality of the natives themselves, some knowledge of Christianity, was spread in various islands which had never been visited by any of the missionaries. A considerable number of the inhabitants of the Paumotu islands, including two or three of their chiefs, renounced heathenism, and

^v Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 359, 426, 431. Quarterly Chronicle, vol. i. p. 255, 260.

made a profession of Christianity. These islands, are situated from 25 to 50 leagues westward of Otaheite, and are inhabited by a race of people, proverbial for their abject superstitions, abominable vices, and unrelenting cruelty. Many of these islanders, having occasionally visited Otaheite, and having witnessed the astonishing revolution, which had there taken place, threw away their idols, and avowed themselves the worshippers of Jehovah. On returning home, they took with them some of their countrymen, who had been instructed in the school of the missionaries, in order that they might communicate the knowledge of Christianity, to the other inhabitants of the islands. Such, indeed was their success, that the whole island of Anaa, in a short time, renounced heathenism, except a single district. ^w

The island of Rurutu, or, as it is sometimes called Oheteroa, furnishes an interesting example of the same kind. One day, a strange sail appeared off the island of Raiatea; and on reaching the shore, the people on board, were found to consist of natives of Rurutu, which is not less than 350 miles distant. Contrary winds, had driven them off their own island; and they had been drifted about at sea for three weeks, and latterly were without either food or water, except sea water, which they were obliged to drink. They were exceedingly astonished when they beheld the change, which had taken place in Raiatea, and heard of the new system of religion, and saw the people worshipping Jehovah. They immedi-

^w Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 226, 230. Evan. Mag. vol. xxvi. p. 319. Rep. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 4.

ately began to learn to read, and though most of them were indolent, yet Auura their chief was remarkably attentive. He seemed to appreciate the importance of knowledge, and the value of the good tidings of salvation, which the Gospel made known. After remaining about four months on the island, he returned to Rurutu, accompanied by two of the Raiateans, who at his own earnest request, proceeded thither with the view of instructing the natives. Immediately on his return, a meeting of the chiefs was held, and on the representations of Auura, a resolution was passed to abandon idolatry. It was agreed, however, that before carrying this resolution into effect, they should, contrary to the universal custom of these islands, eat together next day, as a test of the truth of the new religion. If any died according to the predictions of the priests, who alleged that they would be devoured by the evil spirit, then they would not renounce the gods of their ancestors; but if no one sustained any injury, they would destroy them all. They accordingly met, and after satisfying their appetites without suffering any injury, they proceeded to demolish their morais, and they sent their idols to the missionaries at Raiatea. This island bore evident marks of rapid depopulation. Many houses which appeared to have been recently inhabited, were now desolate. The natives reported, that a short time before the population was about 2000; now it was reduced to little more than 200. ^x

Captain Henry of the Brig Governor Macquarie, having touched at an island, called Raivaivai or High

^x Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 237. Evan. Mag. vol. xxx. p. 31.

Island, which is situated about 400 miles south-east of Otaheite, was surprised to find the natives observing the ordinances of divine worship. It was the Sabbath morning when he arrived; and they were all assembling to church. Each individual on entering the place of worship, kneeled down and uttered a prayer: the number assembled was 848, of whom about 150 stood without, there being no room for them within. The very quiet, devout and orderly manner in which they conducted themselves, not only while engaged in divine worship, but during the whole Sabbath, excited Captain Henry's highest admiration. Pomare, it seems, had visited Raivaivai, about two years before, and having been instrumental in restoring peace, between two contending parties, who were then at war, he was requested to take upon himself, the sovereignty of the island. He accordingly left Para, one of his attendants, as his political representative, and he directed him to instruct the people. The inhabitants, who are estimated at about 1600, renounced idolatry about four months after Pomare's departure. This surprising change happened upon a great feast day, when all the natives and chiefs were assembled. ^y

In travelling through Otaheite and the other islands, the missionaries were received by the inhabitants in the most friendly manner. A few years before it was scarcely possible to collect a congregation: the missionaries were obliged to entice them to hear the word, and frequently when they were endeavouring to gather a few together, the people would

^y Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 218. Evan. Mag. vol. xxix. p. 529. Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822. p. 34. Scottish Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 473.

make their escape, skulking behind the trees or bushes. Now large congregations assembled of their own accord: some even came a distance of many miles. Their eagerness for instruction, and their regularity in attending on the means of grace, might put multitudes of the professors of religion in Christian countries to the blush. Frequently the service had to commence before the ordinary time, in consequence of the house being full. Instead of a multitude of idols, morais and altars, there were now Christian churches in every district: * except here and there a heap of stones, scarce a vestige of the old religion was to be seen. The questions, which the natives put to the missionaries, relative to points doctrinal, experimental and practical, were often extremely pertinent. Family worship was established in almost every house, and secret prayer was the practice, of almost every individual. In those places where there was no preaching, the natives had prayer meetings among themselves. The Rateras, and some of the priests, took the lead in their religious exercises, engaging in prayer by turns. The propriety, fluency and earnestness, with which some of them expressed themselves on these occasions, were truly wonderful. The strictness of the natives in observing the Sabbath, was, at the same time, very remarkable. It often afforded the missionaries singular pleasure, to look around them on a Saturday afternoon, and see the smoke ascending from the cooking houses of the people, who were

* In August 1817, there were 67 places of worship in Otaheite, and 20 in Eimeo, besides some others that were building. *Evan. Mag.* vol. xxvi. p. 359.

preparing their victuals for the ensuing Sabbath. Not a fire was lighted, not a canoe seen on the water, not a journey performed, not the least kind of worldly business done on the Lord's day. When Mr. Crook, who had previously been a missionary in the South Sea Islands, was returning to Otaheite, he was astonished on his arrival, that none of the natives made their appearance, as the vessel sailed along the shore, and that no smoke arose from their dwellings. At first, he was afraid that the island had been laid waste, and the inhabitants destroyed; but while he was indulging in these apprehensions, one of the sailors an Otaheitean, remarked that the natives were observing the sabbath; that on that day, they now did no work, nor cooked any victuals, nor went out of their houses, except to worship God; but spent the whole of its sacred hours, in the exercises of religion, or in teaching one another to read. The vessel, at length, anchored in Matavai bay; but not a native made his appearance, until next morning, when great numbers came on board, bringing with them, the usual tokens of hospitality, presents of cloth, food and fruit of various kinds.^z

Besides, instructing the natives in the principles of Christianity, the missionaries taught them to read and write their own language, and, in some instances, arithmetic. In this attempt, they formerly met with little encouragement; now their exertions were crowned with extraordinary success. The schools in each of the islands, were attended by some hundred persons, including adults and

^z Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 142, 152, 428. Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 263, 270, 321, 366, 368. Evan. Mag. vol. xxvi. p. 174, 273, 314, 359. vol. xxvii. p. 349. vol. xxx. p. 457.

children. Many of the scholars were afterwards scattered among the neighbouring islands, and employed themselves in communicating to others, the knowledge they had acquired. By this means, the art of reading and writing, was much more rapidly and extensively diffused, than could possibly have been effected by the missionaries alone. In the different islands, it was supposed, several years ago, that there were upwards of six thousand persons, who were able to read more or less accurately; and since that time the number must have greatly increased. Pomare even issued orders, that school houses should be erected, in every district of Otaheite and Eimeo, and that the best instructed of the natives should be employed in teaching others, so that these islands possess something like an establishment of parochial schools.^a

Besides a Spelling-book in the Otaheitan language, the missionaries prepared An Abridgment of the Old Testament History, a similar summary of the New Testament History, a Catechism, a Collection of Hymns, and they are proceeding with a translation of the Old and New Testament. Some of these pieces were first printed in England, or New South Wales; but having now obtained a press of their own, they were better able to supply the urgent demands of the natives for books. With the view of encouraging the people to learn, they formerly distributed the works they printed gratis; but as this spirit no longer required to be cherished, they very wisely resolved to take payment for them. The

^a Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 275, 428. Rep. Miss. Soc. 1819. p. 8. Evan. Mag. vol. i. (N. S.) p. 162. Scottish Missionary Register, vol. i. p. 83. Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 158.

Gospel of Luke, which was the first of the Gospels that was printed, was sold for three gallons of coconut oil; and though the impression consisted of three thousand copies, yet multitudes of the natives were grievously disappointed, that no more were to be had. Nothing could exceed the eagerness of the people to obtain copies: while waiting for them they would scarcely retire to sleep at night, lest they should be disappointed: they would not even stop till they were bound; but insisted on having them as they were, and they got the skins of goats and dogs and other animals, for the purpose of binding them themselves. Such as did obtain a copy, took such care of it, as shews the high value they set upon it. A cover was immediately made for it, and a bag or basket was provided in which to carry it about: some were even afraid to take it out lest it should get dirtied or torn; they were afraid also to leave it at home, lest it should be injured in their absence. A native who possessed a book, was seldom seen without it, except when he was at work: the people might frequently be seen sitting in circles, beneath the shade of a wide spreading tree, and reading to each other in their own language, the wonderful works of God. Books, in short, were now the most valuable property in these islands.^b

In Otaheite, which was so lately the seat of the most cruel and degrading superstition, there was even established a Missionary Society for promoting the propagation of Christianity among the heathen.

^b Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 282; vol. iv. p. 147, 276, 360.—
Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 257, 271, 288, 300, 305, 447, 490.—
Evan. Mag. vol. xxiii. p. 516; vol. xxvii. p. 349.—Scot. Mis.
Reg. vol. i. p. 82.

On proposing this institution, Pomare reminded the natives how much of their time used to be spent in worshipping idols ; how large a part of their property was consecrated to their service ; how many of their lives were sacrificed to their honour ; and that all this was done for what was no god, being nothing more than a piece of wood, or a cocoa nut husk. He explained to them the means by which the heralds of mercy had come thither, for the natives imagine that the missionaries may go on board a ship, as they themselves go on board the canoes of one another, and be conveyed free of expense wherever they please ; but the king told them that was not the case ; that a great quantity of money was given to the Captains of vessels, to carry them to the scene of their labours ; and that this was furnished by good people in England, who wished “ the word of God to grow.” It was by such means that they now enjoyed the light of the gospel, and he thought it was right that they should endeavour to send it to other lands, which were still in darkness ; and, though they had no money, yet they might give pigs, arrow root, cocoa nut oil, and cotton, “ to buy money :” He contrasted how little they were now called upon to give in the service of the true God, with what they used to spend in the worship of idols : He insisted, however, that there should be no compulsion ; that whatever was given, should be given voluntarily, and that those who did not contribute, should not be evil spoken of on that account. He closed his speech, by proposing that all present, who wished “ the word of God to grow,” and who agreed to his proposal, should signify their mind, by holding up their hand. In-

stantly, every hand in the assembly, which consisted of two or three thousand persons, was raised in token of their readiness to unite in the glorious work of propagating the gospel of Christ among the heathen. The contributions were to consist, agreeably to the king's proposal, of cocoa nut oil, arrow root, and other productions of the island, which were to be accounted for to the Missionary Society in London. It was supposed there was scarcely an individual on the island who would not be a member, an example, to which, we apprehend, there is no parallel in the whole Christian world. Similar societies were formed in Eimeo, in Huaheine, and in Raietea, with a branch at Taha. The produce of the cocoa nut oil, sent to England by these associations was, on one occasion, not less than L.1877, 3s. 7d. There is no question, many of the natives subscribed from the influence of example, and a regard to character; but there is as little doubt that some contributed from love to Christ, and desire for the salvation of immortal souls.^c

Amongst the other fruits which the introduction of Christianity into Otaheite and the neighbouring islands has produced, it is pleasing to witness the improvement which it has effected in the moral and civil condition of the people. The female instead of being merely the slave of the man, is now raised to a level with him as his companion. Formerly the sexes ate separately, a custom which proved the source of many and great evils; now the whole

^c Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 442, 446, 496, 498; vol. ii. p. 157, 233.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxvii. p. 349; vol. xxviii. p. 82, 171.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. xcv.

family assemble together at the same meal, men, women, and children. Concubinage, which was common among the chief men in the islands, prior to the introduction of Christianity, is now unknown ; and though formal marriages do not take place among the natives in general, yet the principle of the marriage union is strictly, and almost universally observed. Not only has the horrid practice of infanticide ceased ; but mothers who once destroyed their infant offspring, now manifested to their subsequent children, a remarkable degree of tenderness and affection, and some of them deeply lamented the loss of their little ones who had fallen a sacrifice to the cruel and relentless custom. Prior to the introduction of the gospel, it was common for the women to flock, for the basest of purposes, on board the ships that occasionally touched at the islands ; now this custom has not only ceased, but was considered by them, in general, as extremely disgraceful. The sports of the natives were formerly highly indecent, and spread a moral contagion through the great mass of the population ; now they have entirely altered their character ; and, in fact, among the various remarkable changes which have taken place in these islands, not one appeared to the missionaries so astonishing as the complete cessation of these abominable and fascinating amusements. The sick and aged, who used formerly to be considered as a burden, and were sometimes buried alive by their own relations, were now treated by them with kindness and humanity. Under the reign of the ancient superstition, when any great calamity occurred, several of the natives used to be sacrificed to appease the wrath of the offended gods. At the

instance of the priests, the king sent off messengers in various directions, who were commissioned to enter the peaceful dwellings of particular individuals previously marked out as their wretched victims. It sometimes happened that the messenger entered as a friend, and was hospitably entertained as such, when seizing his opportunity, he struck his host to the ground a lifeless corpse. The relations of the murdered person instantly fled with consternation and terror, whilst his body was carried off as a sacrifice to the Morai. This cruel custom, however, had now entirely ceased; a human sacrifice was a thing unknown. In consequence of the abolition of these various practices, the population of the islands which had been rapidly diminishing, promised soon to increase: even already, there was a visible difference in the number of children.^d

But though many cruel practices have utterly ceased, and many crimes which formerly prevailed, are seldom heard of, there is reason to fear that vices of a very heinous character are still practised by some of the natives, a fact which will excite no surprise in the minds of those who reflect on the deep depravity of human nature, the inveteracy of evil habits, and the short time which Christianity has exerted its benign and purifying influence in these islands. Among the many causes which obstruct the improvement of morals, we may particularly notice the uncontrolled condition of the young. Among a people just emerging from a state of barbarism, the advantages resulting to children from the prudent exercise of parental authority, can

^d Rep. Miss. Soc. 1820, p. 13.

scarcely be expected; but in Otaheite and the neighbouring islands, the children are so independent of their parents, in regard to subsistence, that they enjoy the most unbridled license. A lad, if punished by his parents, will absent himself from home for weeks or months together, roving from one district to another, or even to other islands. The efficacy of parental authority is lost on a boy, who finds himself as happy, and more independent among strangers, than under the roof of his father. From the same cause, it is scarcely possible to obtain a regular attendance of the children at school; but this evil, it is hoped, will gradually be corrected. ^c

With the moral improvement of a people, the arts of civilization are intimately connected; but these it is much to be regretted, have as yet made little progress among the inhabitants of Otaheite, and the neighbouring islands. Formerly, the property of the natives, was arbitrarily demanded from them by the king, and the chiefs; but since the reception of Christianity, the rights of the people are better understood, and what was once a compulsory requisition, is now in general converted into a civil request. One great check to industry is thus happily removed, for it is not to be expected that men will shew much disposition to labour, for that of which they may be deprived the very next day, by the authority, and caprice of another. Still, however, the general mildness of the climate, and the spontaneous productiveness of the earth, render the natives in a great measure independent of regular

^c Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 441.

labour. Idleness, indolence, and roving habits, are, as a consequence of this, prevalent among them; for men will not readily work, to procure that of which they feel no need. To create therefore among them artificial wants, is one of the most likely means, of forming them to habits of industry, and of promoting among them settled residence. Even already, a desire to possess some article of furniture, or a book, or to be a member of a missionary association, operated in many instances as an effectual stimulus to labour.^f

With the view of creating among the natives artificial wants, and at the same time, furnishing them with the means of supplying them, the Directors of the Missionary Society, were anxious to introduce among them the cultivation of the sugar cane, and also of cotton and coffee. They accordingly sent Mr. John Gyles to Otaheite with the apparatus, necessary for the manufacture of sugar, of which the colony of New South Wales can annually consume three hundred tons; but though he obtained a piece of land for a plantation, and the sugar works were actually erected, the hopes which were formed of the success of the undertaking, were soon completely extinguished. The captain of a vessel which touched at Otaheite, informed some of the natives that, should the sugar works succeed, persons of property would come from beyond the sea, and establish themselves among them; that they would seize their lands, and kill them, or make them slaves; and as an evidence of this, he appealed to what had taken place in the West Indies. In consequence of

^f Miss. Chron. vol. i. p. 441.

this, Pomare informed the missionaries, that he could not consent to the prosecution of the sugar works, except on a very limited scale. With the view of satisfying the king, and quieting the apprehensions of the people, it was therefore agreed, that Mr. Gyles should leave the island, and return to England. More lately, the directors sent Messrs. Armitage, and Blossom, to Otaheite, with the view of introducing the manufacture of cotton, and other mechanical arts; and though they have met with great impediments to this design, yet it is hoped, this undertaking may be more successful than the other. ^s

But though the natives have, as yet, made no great progress in the arts of civilization, it must not be supposed they have made no improvement. A number of them have finished very neat houses for themselves, with doors and windows. They have made considerable progress in the cultivation of the ground, and now raise sugar canes, bananas, Indian corn, water melons, tobacco, and other vegetables. They have also made public roads, and well built boats, constructed after the European fashion. The females especially, are much improved in their habits and appearance. A considerable number of them have been instructed by the wives of the missionaries in needle work, and have learned to make themselves neat and modest dresses. When they procure a few yards of English cloth, they do not as formerly bind it carelessly round their loins, but make it up into a gown, which gives them a much more decent appearance. They also

^s Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 441. Rep. Miss. Soc. 1821. p. 6. Evan. Mag. vol. i. (N. S.) p. 165.

make themselves very neat bonnets, similar to straw bonnets; and the men likewise make hats of the same materials. In the island of Raiatea in particular, the spirit of improvement appears to be kindled; and perhaps the advocates of civilization, would not be less pleased than the friends of religion, could they contemplate its distant shores, and witness so many of the natives diligently employed, some in erecting houses, others in building boats, some as sawyers and blacksmiths, others as carpenters, making very neat sofas, bedsteads, and similar articles. When the missionaries first settled on this island, the spot where they fixed their residence, had the appearance of a wilderness, nor were there more than two or three houses in the district; but in the course of about ten months, the aspect of the place was entirely changed. Instead of an almost impassable wood, it presented a fine open scene, with a range of houses extending nearly two miles along the sea beach, in which resided about a thousand of the natives. They also erected two bridges of considerable extent, which would have done credit to any country village in England.^h

In May 1819, was exhibited in Otaheite the interesting spectacle of a king giving a code of laws to his people, who, like himself, were lately savages and heathens. On the day appointed for its promulgation, Pomare, after singing, reading the scriptures, and prayer by Mr Crook, one of the missionaries, stood up, and looking on the thousands of his subjects on his right hand, and on his left, addressed himself to

^h Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 56, 62, 158, 160, 225, 248.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 14, 20; 1822, p. 26.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxx. p. 30.

Tati, the pious chief of the southern part of the island, saying, "Tati, what is your desire? What can I do for you?" Tati, who sat nearly opposite to him, arose and said: "These are what we want, the papers you hold in your hand, the laws; give them to us, that we may have them in our hands, that we may regard them, and do what is right." The king then addressed Utami, the chief of Teoropoa, and in an affectionate manner, said, "Utami, and what is your desire?" To this the chief answered, "One thing only is desired by us all, that which Tati has expressed, the laws which you hold in your hand." Having addressed two others of the chiefs, and received similar answers from them, Pomare proceeded to read and comment upon the laws, relative to murder, theft, stolen goods, lost property, Sabbathbreaking, rebellion, marriage, adultery, and a variety of other crimes, in eighteen different articles. After reading and explaining the several articles, he asked the chiefs whether they approved of them. To which they replied aloud, "We agree to them, we heartily agree to them." The king then addressed the people, and desired them, if they approved of the laws, to signify their approbation by lifting up their right hands. This was done unanimously, with a singular rushing noise, thousands of arms being lifted up at the same moment. Such a scene may be better conceived than described: to behold a king giving laws to his subjects, with an express regard to the authority of the word of God, and a people receiving them with such universal satisfaction, was truly a sublime and interesting sight. The code of laws was afterward printed and posted up in every district, and the

people were thus generally made acquainted with their civil rights, as well as with their civil obligations. The code is introduced in the following manner: "Pomare, by the grace of God, King of Otaheite, Eimeo, and all surrounding lands, to all his faithful subjects, greeting: In the name of the true God; God in his great mercy, has sent his word among us. We have embraced this word, that we may be saved. We desire to regard the commandments which he has given to us. In order, therefore, that our conduct may become like the conduct of those who love God, we make known unto you the following laws of Otaheite." A code of laws was also adopted by the king and chiefs of the islands of Raiatea and Taha. It consisted of twenty-five articles, the last of which institutes trial by Jury.ⁱ

In December 1821, died Pomare, the king of Otaheite, after a severe illness of some weeks. This prince was full six feet two inches high, and was the most gigantic man on the island. He possessed a capacious mind, and in knowledge of every kind was unrivalled among his countrymen; but he was of a temper, reserved and gloomy. He was fond of power, and wished to have the persons and property of his subjects entirely at his disposal. He was naturally indolent, and seldom walked out except to bathe. He inherited from his father, a partiality to foreigners, and was always the friend of the missionaries; but he was more averse than his people to adopt European customs. He was much feared by his subjects, and was eminently

ⁱ Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 493.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 8, 24.

useful in bringing about the great change that has taken place in these islands. With respect to his own religious character little is said by the missionaries. Notwithstanding the deep convictions which he at one time expressed of his sinfulness, he was afterwards much given up to drunkenness, and the missionaries long delayed baptizing him; but after some years, as he had been so constant and persevering in promoting the interests of religion, and as it appeared to be the wish of the whole nation, particularly of the most pious chiefs, they proceeded to administer to him the ordinance of baptism, on his engaging to devote himself to the Lord, and to renounce every sin, even the appearance of evil. Upon his death, the missionaries were under considerable apprehensions that the island would be involved in confusion; but these fears were happily disappointed. His son, an infant of eighteen months old, succeeded him as king, and a regency was appointed, consisting of some of the principal chiefs.^k

Previous to the death of Pomare, the Rev. Mr. Tyerman of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, and George Bennet, Esq. of Sheffield, arrived at Otaheite as a deputation from the London Missionary Society; and were highly delighted to witness the improvement which had taken place on the inhabitants of this and the neighbouring islands, in a civil, moral, and religious point of view. The missionaries, whose number had of late years been considerably increased, had now established distinct missions in the principal islands which had em-

^k Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 495; vol. ii. p. 224, 229, 247.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxx. p. 326, 372.

braced Christianity. They themselves occupied the islands of Otaheite, Eimeo, Huaheine, Raiatea, Borabora, and Taha, and they sent native teachers to Rurutu, Ramaivai, and also to Tupuai, and Rematuru, two other islands which had renounced idolatry.¹

With respect to the number of the baptized in the several islands, we are unable to state it with absolute certainty; but we apprehend they cannot be fewer than four thousand, upwards of one half of whom are adults. Many, however, are anxious to be admitted to Christian baptism, more for the sake of distinction among their countrymen, than from any knowledge they have of the nature of the ordinance, or any desire after spiritual blessings. There is no doubt that much of what has taken place in Otaheite and the neighbouring islands, is only in profession; but yet we have reason to believe that there is also much of real piety. In this, as in every other part of the world where Christianity has acquired some degree of establishment, the number of those who profess it, is far greater than that of those who feel the power of religion. While, therefore, we admire the astonishing display of divine power in constraining the natives to abolish their cruel and sanguinary rites, we cannot but lament that there are such numbers who are not only unacquainted with repentance unto life; but who manifest a total unconcern about the salvation of their souls. It is necessary on every occasion to endeavour to show the people that religion does not consist in outward observances,

¹ Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 444; vol. ii. p. 246.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 33.—Evan. Mag. vol. i. (N.S.) p. 122, 163.

for, having been so long accustomed to a superstition that consisted entirely of external rites and ceremonies, they have a strong disposition to rest in a mere form of religion.^m We acknowledge we can never contemplate the mighty revolution which has taken place in Otaheite and the neighbouring islands, without admiration, and gratitude, and joy; yet important and interesting as it is, we fear it is not equal to the conceptions which are generally formed of it; we suspect that the friends of missions are apt to ascribe to it a spirituality and a purity which it does not possess. Probably what took place in various countries of Europe at the Reformation, furnishes the justest and most correct picture of what has taken place in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. While the mass of the population threw off the yoke of Popery, the great body of the inhabitants were far from possessing a correct knowledge of the principles of Christianity, and still less did they experience their purifying influence; it was only a comparatively small number of individuals who were enlightened by the Holy Spirit, believed in Christ Jesus as the only Saviour, and brought forth fruits meet for repentance.

ARTICLE II.

TONGATABOO.

IN March 1797, Captain Wilson, after landing the first missionaries in Otaheite, sailed for Tongataboo, one of the Friendly isles with the view of

^m Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 440, 486, 498.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxx. p. 326.

settling others on that island. After a voyage of about a fortnight, the *Duff* arrived at Tongataboo, and before she could well come to anchor, she was surrounded by numbers of the natives, who flocked to her, not only from that, but from the neighbouring islands. In a short time, two Europeans came on board, named Benjamin Ambler, who called himself a native of London, and John Connelly, who said he was born at Cork. It soon appeared that they were base worthless fellows; and though they pretended that they were sailors who had left an American vessel which touched at Tongataboo, it is more likely they were convicts, who had escaped from New South Wales, and secreted themselves on this island, where they could indulge, without restraint, in those habits of idleness and profligacy to which they were addicted. Bad, however, as they were, it was deemed expedient to employ them as a medium of intercourse with the chiefs, relative to the settlement of the missionaries on the island.^a

Engaged by handsome presents, Ambler and Connelly went to Moomooe, the Dugona or principal chief of the island; and having impressed him with a favourable opinion of the missionaries, they returned next morning with a present of three hogs and some yams from the old man, and informed them that he himself intended soon to follow. Accordingly, it was not long before the venerable chief made his appearance, with upwards of twenty attendants. Captain Wilson embraced this opportunity of mentioning every circumstance which could raise

^a Miss. Voyage, p. 92, 96. Authen. Narrative, p. 68.

in their minds a high idea of the missionaries ; and as they expressed great admiration of the cabin and its furniture, particularly of the mirrors, chairs, and table, they were informed that the men who had come to settle upon the island could teach them to make such useful articles, a circumstance which seemed to transport them with joy. Several of the chiefs, were anxious that some of the missionaries, should come and live with them ; but as it was thought most expedient that they should keep together in a body, at least for the present, it was agreed that they should all live with Toogahowe, who was considered as the most powerful and warlike chief on the island, and as likely to be the successor of the aged Dugona, who seemed now on the brink of the grave. Agreeably to this arrangement, the following missionaries, Messrs. Daniel Bowell, John Buchanan, James Cooper, S. Gaulton, Samuel Harper, Seth Kelso, Isaac Nobbs, William Shelly, James Wilkinson, and George Veeson, landed on the island, and took up their residence at Aheefo, under the protection of that powerful chief. Here they had a house assigned them in a little field, enclosed with reeds, neatly interwoven with green stakes which had shot forth suckers and branches, and now formed a beautiful verdant fence. ^b

Having seen the missionaries settled in this favourable situation, and on the most friendly terms with the chiefs and the people, Captain Wilson prepared to take his departure from the island. Scarcely had he sailed when a tremendous gale arose, and the mountainous billows quickly tossed the vessel

^b Miss. Voyage, p. 99. Authen. Narrative, p. 69, 73.

along the ocean. The missionaries watched her labouring amidst the waves, till she sunk in the horizon from their view. A sigh of sadness then arose, some tears of regret fell from their eyes, whilst they looked round on the island, far distant from the regions of civilized life, as the scene where they were to pass and to end their days: "This," said they to each other, "is the ground where our bodies will moulder into dust: this we must now consider as our country and our grave." But they were ten in number, all social and friendly, all of similar sentiments, all united in zeal for the honour of the Redeemer, all glowing with concern for the salvation of the kind but ignorant inhabitants of the island. These circumstances contributed not a little to soothe and support their minds on this trying occasion. ^c

After the departure of the *Duff*, the natives came in great numbers to visit the missionaries, to pay their respects to them, and to gratify their own curiosity. None of them, however, came without considerable presents of cloth, roasted pigs, bunches of plantains, or strings of cocoa nuts. The chiefs and the people appeared to vie with each other in shewing them respect and attention. The presents of bales of cloth and mats which were brought them, were at length so numerous, that the missionaries had not room to deposite them: nor was the cloth so contemptible as some may imagine. It was made of the inner bark of trees, moulded, battered, and spread in such a manner as to form a

^c Authen. Narrative, p. 73.

fine stout article, which when fringed with white constituted not only a neat but an elegant dress.^d

In return for their kindness, the missionaries made them as many presents as their stock of goods would afford, particularly the chief under whose protection they lived. They always treated their visitors with the greatest attention, and were most assiduous in gratifying their curiosity. A cuckoo clock, which they fixed up was viewed by the natives with the utmost astonishment, even before it was put in motion; but their wonder was increased a thousand fold, when, on its being set a going, the bird came out, crying, "Cuckoo, cuckoo." Such was their wonder, that, for sometime, they could not take their eyes off it; they then looked at each other, dumb with astonishment, and at length withdrew in perfect amazement. The news of this wonderful curiosity, quickly spread over the whole island. The missionaries it was reported had got, "Wood that speaks." The numerous visitors which it attracted completely occupied them from early in the morning, till late in the evening; and at length they multiplied so greatly, that it was necessary to refuse admittance to many of them.^e

Among their many visitors, was Duatongo, who, in respect of power, was the second chief in the island. As he was highly delighted with the cuckoo clock, the missionaries, who had several of them, were happy to have an opportunity of gratifying him with so acceptable a present. Having carried it home with him, he was prompted by curiosity to

^d Authen. Narrative, p. 75.

^e Ibid. p. 76.

examine the inside, and readily succeeded in taking it to pieces ; but he had not skill to put it together again. He then sent for the missionaries to mend it. They made the attempt, but being unacquainted with the mechanism of a clock, they were equally unsuccessful. This circumstance lessened them not a little in the eyes of the natives, and brought down upon them a great deal of ridicule ; while, at the same time, it flattered the natural vanity of the Tongas, who now prided themselves in the idea that they were at least as skilful as, “the men of the sky.”^f *

But while the missionaries were, in general, treated with the utmost attention by the natives, they met with no small trouble from their own countrymen. No sooner had the Duff sailed from Tongataboo, than Ambler, Connelly, and a fellow of the name of Morgan, one of their companions, who was on a neighbouring island, began to harass them. The conduct of the missionaries, so opposite to their abandoned habits, provoked their enmity ; the property they possessed excited their avarice. The ruffians had already obtained from them a variety of articles to a considerable amount ; but their applications, became at length, so frequent and so extravagant, as to be altogether intolerable, and it became absolutely necessary to refuse them. Not discouraged by this, they demanded the goods as

^f Authen. Narrative, p. 78.

* The natives called them “the men of the sky,” because the sky appeared to touch the ocean in the distant horizon, and as the missionaries came from an immense distance, they naturally enough concluded, that they must have come through the sky to arrive at Tongataboo. *Authen. Narrative*, p. 95.

their right; and one day they entered the habitation of the missionaries by force, with the view of carrying off their property. One of them ran up to Kelso and struck him; the other assaulted another of the missionaries; but being overpowered by numbers, they were soon driven from the place. They went away breathing forth dreadful imprecations, and threatening that they would inflame the natives against them, and that not one of them should be left alive until the morning. Had they possessed much authority with the Tongas, there is little doubt the whole of the missionaries would have been sacrificed to their malice; but their infamous conduct had rendered them so unpopular, that they had little influence with the natives.^g

The missionaries, however, were much alarmed by their proceedings; and partly for this reason, partly as they heard various reports of the designs of the chiefs to attack them and seize their property, they came to a resolution to separate, and to take up their residence in small parties with different chiefs. Three of them accordingly remained at Aheefo, under the protection of Toogahowe, who was now the Dugona or principal chief of the island, in consequence of his father's death; two went to Mooa, to live with Duatonga; two to Ardeo, to reside with Varjee; one took up his abode at Ahogee with Mooree; and one with a chief of the name of Mulkaamair.^h

Before leaving the Pacific Ocean, Captain Wilson returned, to Tongataboo, * with the view of

^g Authen. Narrative, p. 80. ^h Ibid. p. 81.—Miss. Voyage, p. 249, 255.—Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 256.

* Nothing particular occurred in the course of this second voyage from Otaheite, unless we except the following circum-

learning the situation of the missionaries, the treatment they had received from the natives during his absence, and the prospects of success on the island. He was happy to hear of the kindness and respect

stance, which exhibits an interesting picture of the workings of paternal affection, even in the rudest and most ignorant ranks of society. As the *Duff* sailed by Huaheine, several canoes came along side, in one of which was an Irishman named Connor, one of the crew of the *Matilda*, a vessel which had been wrecked about 1792. To the astonishment of the captain and his men, he had forgotten his native tongue so completely, that he was able to recollect only a few words, and if he began a sentence in English, he was obliged to finish it in the language of the islanders. He had even forgot the time that had elapsed since he was shipwrecked, but supposed it was eight years, whereas it was only about five. Having obtained from Captain Wilson a passage to England, he went ashore to take farewell of his wife and child. His wife he treated with the utmost indifference, and, indeed, he had declared, he did not care what became of her; but when he took in his arms the child, a most beautiful infant, about eight or nine months old, the tears glistened in his eyes, and he seemed now to hesitate whether to remain in a situation where he was in perpetual jeopardy of his life, or by extricating himself from it, to leave behind him his beloved daughter in the hands of savages. Persisting, however, in his first resolution, he embarked in the canoe, accompanied by his wife and his lovely infant. By the way she was asked whether she would not part with the child? "No," she replied, "not for any thing." As several chiefs and other natives were on board the *Duff*, it was sometime before this affair could be settled, and thus he had a further opportunity for deliberation. The poor fellow never let the infant out of his arms, and, at length, the workings of a father's heart prevailed over the love of country, and concern for his own personal safety. He told the captain, he found it impossible to leave his child, which all on board were glad to hear, for the sake of the poor helpless babe. A few useful articles were then presented to him. The *Duff* immediately proceeded on her voyage, while he returned to the shore. *Miss. Voyage*, p. 227.

with which the Tongas had in general treated them; but the accounts he received of Ambler, Connelly, and Morgan, determined him, if possible, to carry them off the island, that so they might create the missionaries no further uneasiness. Connelly he seized, but Ambler and Morgan, learning his design, made their escape. One day, Veeson the missionary, accompanied by several men from the ship, proceeded, well armed, to the place of their retreat. After searching for them in vain, night came on, when Veeson, happening to advance from the field before the rest, up a narrow lane, met with some of the natives, and asked them if they had seen Ambler. Without making any reply, they instantly seized him, and held him fast with his arms behind his body; they then dragged him forward along the lane, and threw him on his back. Whilst two or three held him firm, another raised his club to strike him on the head. Instant death seemed now inevitable. Just, however, at that moment, the moon emerged from under a cloud, and shining full in his face as he lay on the ground, discovered who he was. Awed by reverence for Mulkaamair the chief, with whom he resided, they immediately dropped their clubs, as they knew he was a particular favourite with him. His companions, alarmed by his cries, now came up, and fired upon his assailants. The villains instantly fled, but afterwards followed the sailors for sometime, as they retired to their boat.ⁱ

Veeson did not accompany his companions to the ship, but returned to his own habitation. On

ⁱ Authen. Narrative, p. 83, 85.

his arrival, however, he was surprised to find the doors of the enclosure secured, and was obliged to stop some time in the public road. He, at length, succeeded in forcing the entrance; but, on going in, he was alarmed to see a number of the natives all under arms. As he approached, they pointed their spears at him, and told him they had learned from Ambler and Morgan, that it was the intention of him and his friends to seize on the island and kill the inhabitants. These miscreants, it seems, had succeeded in rousing the jealousy and indignation of the Tongas, by this foul and malignant calumny. They laboured, indeed, by every mean in their power, to lessen the missionaries, and to exalt themselves in the estimation of the natives. They gave it out, for instance, that they were persons of the first rank in their own country, that one of them was the king's son, the other a duke or great chief; but that the missionaries were of the lower orders of the people, and servants to them.^k

The missionaries afterwards thought it best to have no correspondence with these two fellows; and, indeed, there was soon no need either to court their favour, or to dread their resentment, as they totally lost the confidence of the natives. Notwithstanding their high pretensions of being dukes or princes, the Tongas had ingenuity enough to conclude, that had they been men of rank, as they said, they would surely have received presents from their own country as well as the missionaries. They accordingly treated them with little respect; and in consequence of their bad conduct, they at

^k Authen. Narrative, p. 87.

length put them both to death, Ambler at the commencement of a civil war, of which we shall shortly speak, on account of his having spoken disrespectfully of a neighbouring chief, and endeavouring to raise disturbances in the island; Morgan two or three years afterwards, for brutally violating the daughter of one of the chiefs.¹

Immediately after Veeson took up his residence with Mulkaamair, it was reported, by the natives, that he cohabited with one of the native women; and, in fact, some parts of his conduct too well corresponded with such a rumour; yet as he positively denied the charge, while the Duff was on the island, it was thought best by most of the missionaries, as well as by Captain Wilson, to allow him to remain. She had scarcely, however, sailed a week, when, to the inexpressible grief of his brethren, he acknowledged his criminality, but still he denied that it was any earlier than the night before. The missionaries who resided nearest to him, expostulated with him on the guilt and danger of his conduct; and at first it seemed as if their expostulations were not in vain. But their hopes were quickly dashed, by his mingling with the Heathen, and shewing a strong disposition to learn their ways, in which, he at length made an awful proficiency. As, however, he proposed to marry the woman with whom he lived, his fellow missionaries agreed to solemnize the marriage, as what they considered the only remedy now left. But when the parties came before them, and they explained to the woman the nature of the marriage covenant, that it was an agreement

¹ Authen. Narrative, p. 90.

for life to be faithful to her husband, and that nothing but death could release her from the bond, the poor creature burst into tears, and refused to come under such an obligation, alleging as a reason, that no due affection subsisted between them, and that she, for her part, was influenced merely by the fear of the chief, and her parents. Under these circumstances, the missionaries could not proceed with the ceremony, as such a marriage would have been contrary not only to the laws of their country, but to the principles of common sense. She was therefore conducted back to her father; but Veeson soon after sent for her, and lived with her as his wife. The missionaries did not yet exclude him from their society, but embraced every opportunity of remonstrating and exhorting with him concerning his irreligious and immoral conduct. All, however, was in vain. He now threw off the mask of Christianity so completely, that he did not know the Sabbath when it came, and even returned them his Bible, though earnestly requested to keep it. After some months, therefore, they proceeded to exclude him from their little society, though it was with a sorrowful heart.^m

Though the missionaries were in general well treated by the natives, yet in various instances it was otherwise, and there were even cases in which they were in imminent danger of their life. In the summer of 1798, it was reported that most of the principal men on the island had solicited Toogahowe, the Dugona, to put them all to death, insti-

^m Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 257, 262, 266, 268, 272, 275. Authen. Narrative, p. 90, 107, 125, 127.

gated, it was supposed, by a desire of their property, as well as by jealousy of their designs. At that time the missionaries gave no credit to the rumour, for the chiefs in general treated them with so much friendship, that they could not suspect them of so base a design; but afterwards they were assured that about that period there was actually a conspiracy on foot to murder them; that some of those who professed the greatest regard for them, were the most active in it; that the Dugona was nearly consenting to cut off those who were under his protection; and that, had this taken place, it is not probable the others would have been long allowed to survive them. In this emergency, however, Providence raised up to them some friends, who stood firmly by them, and pled their cause; by which means their enemies were silenced, and the conspiracy broken. Shortly after, however, ten or twelve of the natives entered the house of Mr. Cooper, about three o'clock one morning. After threatening to murder him if he made any opposition or noise, they ordered him out of doors, stript off his shirt, and carried away whatever they could find in the house. Happily, however, they did him no personal injury, and when daylight returned, he found they had left him an old coat, and a few articles of iron which they had missed in the dark.ⁿ

Hitherto the missionaries had been able to effect little or nothing with regard to the main object of their settlement upon the island. In learning the language of the natives, they had greater difficulties to encounter than they had been taught

ⁿ Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 270.

to expect. They found it extremely difficult to convey to them any proper ideas even of natural things, with which they had not been conversant, much more of objects which are heavenly and divine. They had just, however, formed a plan for improving themselves in the language, and for reducing it to grammatical order, when an event occurred, which not only deranged the whole of their scheme, but involved the island in devastation and ruin. °

In April 1799, Toogahowe, the Dugona of the island, was treacherously murdered by Loogalalla his brother, and two of his own cousins. The chiefs of Tongataboo, and of the neighbouring islands, being assembled at this time for the celebration of an annual religious ceremony, Loogalalla chose this opportunity for the execution of his barbarous purpose. He communicated his design to a number of other daring men, who, after appearing at the ceremony, embarked in their canoes as if to return to their own part of the island. They hovered, however, off the coast, landed again in the evening, and after stationing a guard at every avenue leading to the Dugona's residence, they proceeded in search of the object of their vengeance. Him and his attendants they found asleep; but as it was dark, they could not at first distinguish which was the chief, and they were afraid to strike the fatal blow, lest by killing the wrong person they should give the others the alarm. Unfortunately, however, for Toogahowe, it is the peculiar privilege of the Dugona to anoint his head with oil, strongly scented

° Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 279.

with a certain species of fragrant wood, which is brought from the Fejee islands. Discovering him by this empty distinction, the conspirators murdered him, together with seven or eight of his attendants. The rest of his followers fled, but as every avenue was guarded, many of them also were slain. Having thus effected their bloody purpose, Loogallalla and his party proceeded to the shore, and seizing as many canoes as they needed, destroyed all the rest in order to secure their retreat. ^p

The news of this event flew like lightning over the whole island, and seemed to fire every breast with indignation and a desire of revenge. Loogallalla, however, had many powerful supporters among the chiefs, so that it was evident nothing but war would decide the fate of the island. Preparations were made on both sides with the utmost rapidity, and, in a short time, the two parties met in the field of battle. The Aheefonians, or royalists, after three shouts, began the contest with great bravery, and in a short time routed the rebels, who fled in all directions, leaving the killed and wounded to the mercy of the victors, who at first gave no quarter. Some of the missionaries were present at the battle, and witnessed scenes of barbarity from which humanity must recoil. A short way from the spot where the contest began, they saw an old man roasting part of a dead body, apparently with a design to eat it. At a little distance they beheld another spectacle no less shocking: it was the body of a chief who had fallen in battle; a fellow who had severed the head from the body, was exhibiting

^p Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 281.—Authen. Narrative, p. 160.

them as a proof of his prowess ; and even some of the women, as they passed by, dipped their hands in the blood, and licked them.

Nothing could be more gratifying to the royalists than to see several of the missionaries marching to the battle, as they entertained no doubt that they had fire-arms with them, and would employ them against the rebels. Accordingly, on every little advantage which they obtained, the missionaries came in with Taleeitoobo, and other imaginary deities, for a share of their warmest acknowledgments ; even the dog, which Kelso led in his hand, had abundance of kava presented to it. But as soon as it was discovered that they took no part in the battle, they became almost as obnoxious to them as their enemies. To remain where they were was therefore no longer safe ; yet whither to go they knew not. They at length fled to a place called Eeleegoo, in the back part of the island, which seemed to promise them the best shelter that could be found at present, being inaccessible for canoes by a high reef of coral rocks along the shore, and very little frequented from the land. Here they retired into as private a spot as possible, and passed the greater part of this eventful day undiscovered by the natives. In the evening they returned to their own habitation ; but they soon found it was no place of refuge for them, and therefore they retired to the house of a neighbour, who professed a good deal of friendship for them ; but who, they afterwards understood, entertained serious thoughts of murdering them all that very night.

Next morning they returned to Eeleegoo, and took up their station in a wood near the place

where they had hid themselves the day before. Here they lay concealed until about noon, when they discovered numbers of the natives flying in all directions; and they soon learned that a second battle had been fought, that the royalists were routed, and that most of their friends among the chiefs were slain. Alarmed by this intelligence, they thought it best to leave their retreat, and to follow the crowd. After travelling with them about two miles, they came up with a party of armed men, who demanded their clothes; and as to have refused them would have been at the peril of their life, they surrendered them without hesitation, and so escaped unhurt.

Having proceeded a considerable way farther, they found the road turn more inland, and the beach terminate in a range of craggy rocks, with a thick wood between them and the country. Here, therefore, they took shelter, as they saw that they were viewed with an evil eye by many of their fellow-travellers. In the course of the day, they discovered, in the hole of a rock, a quantity of fresh water, which afforded them a most seasonable refreshment; and about sunset, two of them went in search of food, of which they all stood much in need, having tasted nothing except water since the evening before. In less than half an hour, they returned with some breadfruit and bananas, which they had obtained from a company of the natives whom they met with at a little distance; but they, at the same time, received from them the painful intelligence, that the three missionaries at Ardeo, Harper, Bowel, and Gaulton, had been murdered

by the Aheefonians the preceding day. It appears that the royalists, after defeating the rebels, continued to pursue them till they came to that part of the country. The missionaries, apprehending that as they had taken no concern in the war they would certainly not be molested by them, came out to view them as they approached. Amongst the warriors, however, arrived one who had formerly requested some presents, either from them or their brethren, and unfortunately had met with a refusal. With the barbarity natural to a savage, he seized this opportunity of taking revenge; and having run to attack them, he was readily joined by others. They knocked down Harper, Bowel, and Burham, an American seaman who was with them,* and murdered them all on the spot. Gaulton fled, but looking back and seeing his companions fall, to whom he was strongly attached, he returned, perhaps, in the hope of saving them, and immediately shared a similar fate. After murdering the missionaries, the ruffians proceeded to plunder their habitation; and though many articles had been concealed and buried by them, yet they searched and found them all.^r

The news of this terrible catastrophe could not fail to impress the surviving missionaries with the deepest sorrow, as well as excite in their minds the most painful apprehensions respecting their own safety. Next day being the Sabbath, they endeavoured to spend it among the rocks in such

^r Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 288.—Auth. Nar. p. 169.

* Several sailors had landed from an American ship, soon after the arrival of the missionaries, and settled on the island. *Miss. Trans.* p. 259, 261.

religious exercises as were suitable to the nature of that sacred day, and to the melancholy circumstances in which they were placed. In the afternoon, however, they were alarmed by the sight of a man, armed with a club and spear, who bolted up close by them. He at first balanced the spear in his hand, and seemed ready to throw it at them; but on observing their number, he appeared confused, and at a loss what to do. The missionaries having immediately addressed him, he pretended that he was sent by Maffee, one of the chiefs, to seek for them, chiding them, at the same time, in a friendly manner, for remaining in such a place to perish with hunger. He then desired them to wait till he sought some cloth which he had left in the neighbouring wood, saying he would come back and take them to Maffee. He accordingly left them and returned in a few minutes; but now he assumed a very different carriage from what he had manifested at first, desired them again to stay, and then left them a second time. As his behaviour was so mysterious, they did not choose to wait his return, but immediately left the rocks in as quiet and cautious a manner as possible, being afraid he might bring a party of the natives against them. Observing a road which led to the sea, they descended by it and proceeded toward the beach. They had not advanced many yards, when they found a child, apparently about eight or nine years of age, lying dead on the ground. After travelling about a mile on the way to Aheefo, they met with a small company of the natives, consisting of ten or twelve persons, one of whom advised them to go with them to a place called Faheffa. They accordingly went

with them, and having arrived in that quarter, about the dusk of the evening, were kindly entertained by the people. ^s

After a variety of other adventures, in the course of which the missionaries were often in the utmost danger of their life, Loogalalla, the traitor, triumphed over all his opposers; and not only Tongataboo, but the neighbouring islands, submitted for the present to his sway. Bloody, however, as were the means by which he rose to sovereign power, he appeared to be friendly to the missionaries. Previous to his last landing, he had made it a part of his general orders to his army, that they should not be hurt; and as soon as he came on shore, he sent Veeson with a party to search for them, in order to secure their safety. Having now called them before him, he treated them in the kindest manner, gave them many assurances of his friendship, and presented them with a large bale of cloth, and two different kinds of saws. Vaarjee, the chief with whom their unfortunate companions had resided, returned them several articles of clothing which had belonged to them, a watch, a Bible, and a small compass; the first volume of Hervey's Dialogues, Crantz's History of Greenland, some other books, and a quantity of paper, pens, and ink. ^t

Having now an opportunity of visiting Ardeo, the missionaries were eager to go thither, in order to render the last offices of friendship to their murdered brethren, whose bodies were still lying on the road, exposed to the insults of all who passed by. On their arrival, they found the place a perfect desola-

^s Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 292. ^t Ibid. vol. i. p. 294, 297, 300.

tion; the houses either burnt or lying in ruins; the fences all torn in pieces, and the fruits mostly destroyed. After taking a short view of the premises, they were conducted to the places where the bodies of their murdered companions lay. This was a still more heart-rending sight. Bowel and Gaulton lay on the road, near each other; Harper in the neighbouring field. They were all, however, so much disfigured, that their brethren could not have known them, except from the information of the natives, who had often seen them since their death. Burham, the American seaman, lay in a kind of ditch, at a considerable distance; and as his body was in such a state that it could not be moved without falling to pieces, the missionaries covered it with earth where it was. Afterwards, with the assistance of the natives, they dug a grave large enough to contain their three brethren; and having, though with some difficulty, moved them into it, buried them without either shroud or coffin. Vaarjee, the chief, appeared to bewail their death, in the most affectionate manner, and even formed the generous design of removing them to a greater distance from the road, and of building a fiatooka, or monument, over them, as soon as he returned to Ardeo. ^u

Having thus performed the last offices of friendship to their unfortunate companions, the missionaries now began to resume their manual labours among the natives. Several of them who lived with a chief named Fackafanooa, having, though with much difficulty, procured materials for a pair

^u Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 291, 298.

of bellows, erected a forge in a house which he had prepared for that purpose. Here they soon found they would have plenty of work, but little payment for it. Almost every person about the place had something or other to do; but with the most unblushing effrontery, they often brought them their own property to be wrought into various forms, and not half so much stuff for payment as they used to allow for working iron, which they had purchased from others at a very great expense. In this practice they were much encouraged by Fackafanooa, who seemed to think the obligations of the missionaries to him were so great, they could never be discharged. He, indeed, reaped far more advantage from their labours than they did themselves; for as most of the payments consisted of ready cooked provisions, of which they could use but a very small part, his family was almost entirely supported on the rest. In several instances, however, this gave rise to circumstances of an unpleasant nature. The missionaries themselves preserved the command of their temper, notwithstanding the many provocations they received; but Beak, an American seaman, who wrought with them, did not maintain the same degree of equanimity. He appears to have been a passionate irritable man, and often got into quarrels with the natives. One day when he had fallen into a dispute with Fackafanooa, the chief immediately left them; but he returned soon after, with upwards of fifty men, and desired them all to come out. As soon as they had complied with his order, each of them was seized by two or three of the natives, and led without the gate. Here they found ten or twelve men armed

with spears, ready, as they imagined, to put them all to death. The chief, however, seemed much agitated; and instead of murdering them, only made the following arrangement: Kelso and Buchanan he ordered to go to Aheefo, while Beak and Wilkinson should remain with him. The people, in general, on this occasion, seemed rather to sympathize with them than to insult them: some, indeed, appeared to rejoice in their sufferings, and to feel a savage pleasure in aggravating their distress. ^v

Agreeably to this arrangement, Kelso and Buchanan departed for Aheefo, and on their arrival they found their brethren in that quarter hard at work. They now learned that Fackafanooa had lately received an order to put them all to death, as their enemies represented their prayers as having a malignant influence on the mind of Loogalalla, and as being indirectly the cause of all the calamities which had lately befallen the island. The prayers of the missionaries, indeed, had long been a source of jealousy to the natives. Scarcely had they landed on the island, when they were represented as the cause of the death of several of the chiefs who died about that period; and on every fresh calamity, the charge was renewed against them. The practice, indeed, was now so obnoxious, that the missionaries at Aheefo were obliged to hold their morning and evening worship at the forge, where only they could have it without molestation, because there it was unsuspected. ^w

Soon after the departure of his two brethren to Aheefo, Wilkinson overheard a conversation be-

^v Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 302, 304. ^w Ibid. vol. i. p. 267, 305.

tween Fackafanooa and some of the people, in the course of which, the missionaries were all treated with much disrespect; but as no mischief was threatened them, he took little notice of it till the following evening, when he heard his own death proposed by a number of the natives to Knight, one of the American seamen; but as the wary sailor expressed his apprehensions that the ship would soon return, it was then proposed to *loomeeloomee* him, a cruel punishment, seldom practised except on prisoners of war, and inflicted by means of a broken cocoa nut shell, jagged for the purpose, and beat into the crown of the head with a club. To this proposal the villain readily assented, but wished it might be executed in such a manner, that he would have no share of the blame. The people accordingly proceeded to make preparations for the execution of their barbarous purpose; and as Wilkinson overheard the conversation, he had to pass the night in the most painful apprehensions of being dragged out in the morning to receive this brutal treatment. He escaped, however, at that time; but soon after, both he and Beak received a severe cudgelling from some of Fackafanooa's people. Nothing, indeed, could exceed the baseness of that chief toward them; and to crown his other acts of villany, he at last seized the little property which they had acquired by hard labour, consisting of about four hundred yams, ten or a dozen of fowls, a considerable quantity of cloth, a dozen of knives, a grinding stone, and all their tools, merely because they refused to give him a shark-hook which they had made for another person. ^x

^x Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 305, 306, 308.

In this manner, the missionaries had passed nearly nine months since the assassination of their friend the Dugona. During the war, they had laboured under a complication of evils; their life was often in the utmost jeopardy, and three of their number had actually fallen a sacrifice to the cruelty of the natives. Since the return of peace, their condition was little improved; plots were often on foot for their destruction; their poverty was such, that they were destitute of clothing, and almost of necessary food; and they were at the same time under such entire subjection to the natives, as destroyed all prospect of usefulness among them. Besides, they received the most positive assurances that Loogalalla, notwithstanding his former professions of friendship, had determined to murder some of them, on his return to the island, which was expected in less than a month; and it was evident, that should any of them survive his cruelty, they might expect at least to suffer all the horrors of famine, as the whole country had lately been laid waste by a storm. Under these discouraging and perplexing circumstances, some of the missionaries entertained serious thoughts of quitting Tongataboo in their small boat, and attempting to sail to New South Wales; but to others this proposal appeared perfectly preposterous, and only as flying from death on land, to inevitable destruction at sea, in a still more hideous form. Such was the painful situation of the missionaries, when they very unexpectedly found an opportunity of escaping from the island. ^y

^y Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 313.

In January 1800, they one evening heard the report of two guns in the bay ; but as it was too late to ascertain the cause of this unusual noise, they passed the night in a state of most anxious suspense ; sometimes hope, sometimes fear prevailed. In the morning, they endeavoured to get their boat to sea, but to their inexpressible disappointment, they failed in the attempt, as the tide did not reach her by forty or fifty yards. In the evening, however, they accomplished their purpose, and after sailing a considerable way, they descried two ships in the roads ; but as the wind was contrary, it was midnight before they reached them. The one was an English vessel, the *Betsy*, bound for Port Jackson, the other, a Spanish brig which she had captured. Captain Clark, the commander, received the missionaries in the most friendly manner ; and, on being informed of their distressing situation, kindly offered them a passage to New South Wales, assuring them that his cabin, with every accommodation it could afford, was at their service. This offer the missionaries accepted with thankfulness and joy. Before the ship finally left the island, one or two of the chiefs, and some others of their old friends, came on board, and took a most affectionate leave of them. The sensations of the missionaries on this occasion it is not easy to describe. The consideration of the time, the labour, and the expense which had been employed on this undertaking, all of which were now to be lost ; but especially the thought of abandoning a country containing thousands of immortal souls, who were perishing in ignorance and sin, could not fail to excite in their minds the most painful feelings. But necessity

compelled them to depart. To remain was only to expose themselves to difficulties, and dangers, and death, without the smallest prospect of success. After a short and agreeable voyage, they arrived in safety at Port Jackson ; and with the exception of Shelly, they all soon after returned to England.^z

Veeson, the apostate missionary, still remained in Tongataboo, and therefore before we close our narrative, it may not be improper to give a short account of him. After marrying a near relation of one of the chiefs, he obtained a considerable piece of land, and with the assistance of the natives who lived upon it, he cultivated and improved his farm in such a manner, as excited the admiration of the whole island. His intimacy and credit with the chiefs daily increased, and he generally made one of their parties both of business and pleasure. He was himself considered as a chief, and like the others he increased the number of his wives. He was now, however, sick of savage life, in consequence of the horrors he had witnessed, and the dangers he had escaped in the late war, and having missed the opportunity of leaving the island in the same ship with the missionaries, he considered it as a just punishment for his dereliction of duty, and was scarcely able to bear the idea of spending the remainder of his days among so ferocious a race. He was doomed, however, to behold new horrors. The inhabitants of Aheefo having rebelled against the usurper, the flames of war were again kindled, and raged with no less fierceness than before. In a district which Loogalalla's party had laid waste, he beheld human bodies placed transversely upon each other, and piled up in large stacks, as a trophy

^z Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 313, 317.

of victory. This, however, was executed in the style of ordinary barbarism. A little way from one of these stacks, he witnessed a spectacle which almost froze his blood. It was a mother, in a sitting posture, holding an infant to her breast, as in the act of sucking, now cold and stiff with death. The savages, after murdering them, had with a refinement in barbarity left the dead bodies to stiffen in that affecting attitude. ^a

In August 1801, Veeson was at length so happy as to effect his escape from this land of savages. Tongataboo, which before the war was beautiful as a garden, was now waste as a wilderness, and the inhabitants were in a state of absolute starvation. No chief of respectability remained; all were either killed, or had fled to other islands for safety. Loogalalla, the author of all these disasters, was the only chief of consequence who had weathered the storm, and even he had been obliged to retire to the Harby islands, from whence he made frequent depredations on Tongataboo. Veeson having attached himself to the party of that usurper, had, of course, shared in his fortunes. About this period he was appointed by him chief of one of the Vavou islands, and was sent thither with a number of men under him, to bring it into a state of cultivation, as provisions were scarce at Harby. This, though an honourable, was to him a dangerous post. He had lately deserted the brother of Loogalalla, who had thrown off the yoke of that usurper and asserted his own independence. As this chief resided in the

^a Authen. Narrative, p. 128, 131, 139, 147, 154, 156, 186, 188.

Vavou islands, it is probable Veeson would soon have fallen a sacrifice to his revenge, had he entered upon his government. Scarcely, however, had he reached these islands, when he heard that a ship from England had been there three days. This intelligence excited the utmost agitation in his mind; but he had the prudence to conceal his feelings as much as possible, and appear to take little or no notice of the information. Various plans of escape now rushed into his mind, yet how to execute them he scarcely knew. He, at length, persuaded some of the natives to go and trade with the ship; but as they approached her, he had the vexation to see her under way, and was terribly frightened she would sail without him. As the wind, however, blew only a light breeze, the ship took sometime in getting round, and the canoe could run faster than she was able to do. On approaching her, he called out, "How do you do, countrymen?" The sailors, however, only laughed at him, as they imagined from his dress and tattooed skin, that he was a native who had picked up some English phrases. They, therefore, held on, and thus Veeson was like to lose for ever this opportunity of getting out of the hands of this savage race. He now attempted to call out who he was; but he had been so long unaccustomed to his native tongue, that he perpetually mixed with it the language of the islanders, and by this means rendered all he said so strange and unintelligible, as to increase the ridicule and incredulity of the sailors. He then jumped overboard, knowing he could easily swim to the vessel, when a chief who was near him said, "Get into my canoe, I will take you to the ship." Veeson accepted of the offer,

but no sooner had he entered the canoe, than the fellow turned with him towards the shore. His situation now seemed desperate. He cried out as loud as he could, in his broken dialect, and lifted up his eyes to heaven, as if in utter despair.^b

Fortunately for him, his cries and gestures caught the attention of the captain, who at that moment came on deck: "That," said he, "must certainly be an European," and immediately ordered out a boat for him, manned with eight persons. Veeson saw the boat coming, but the natives rowed away from it as fast as possible, tantalizing and jeering him, saying, "Such a chief wants to see you. You must visit Loogalalla's brother before you leave us." A young man at the head of the boat having at length beckoned to him to plunge, he watched his opportunity, dived into the sea, in a direction contrary to that in which the canoe was sailing, and kept himself under the water, that the savages might not strike him with their paddles. Meanwhile his countrymen came up to him, and pulled him into the boat. The danger, however, was not yet entirely over. The sailors now attempted to run down the canoes, but as they had no fire-arms, and the savages were much their superior in number, Veeson called to them to desist, warning them of the consequences. He had forgotten, however, his own language so far, that he spoke in that of the islanders, who were now emboldened by what he said, and instead of continuing their flight, turned about, and began to pursue the boat. Had they known

^b Authen. Narrative, p. 189, 191, 195. Evan. Mag. vol. x. p. 285.

that the sailors had no fire-arms with them, it is probable they would have overtaken and murdered them all.^c

Having at length reached the vessel, Veeson was not a little astonished to find it was a missionary ship; not indeed the *Duff*, in which he had originally sailed to the South Sea Islands, but the *Royal Admiral*, commanded by Captain William Wilson, who had just landed a new body of missionaries in Otaheite, and was now returning to England. During the voyage, Veeson was in a wild state of mind; sick of savage life, yet too long habituated to its privileges, to brook with complacency the restraints of civilized society. When they came in sight of the uninhabited island of Tinian, he felt a wish to be put on shore, that he might end his days in the solitude of a hermit. Having proceeded in the ship to China, he there engaged himself on board a vessel bound to America, and after performing another voyage to St. Domingo, he returned to England, but as he had now been so long accustomed to ramble about, he felt an insuperable aversion to regular labour and a settled life. After some time, a pious female relation persuaded him to return to the town where he had received his first serious impressions, in the hope that the society of his old friends might, through the divine blessing, rekindle in his breast the almost extinguished sense of religion. Yielding to her remonstrances, he settled in the place, resumed his former occupations, and was induced by his pious acquaintances, to attend again the long neglected means of grace. In this

^c Authen. Narrative, p. 198.

scene of retirement, the prodigal began to repent, the backslider to pray, the wanderer to return to the Redeemer's fold, from which he had strayed. The gloom of despondency, which a sense of guilt had spread over his mind, was at length dispelled by the declarations of the gospel, and it was hoped that he found peace of conscience through the atonement of Christ Jesus, and was set up as a monument of that grace which he had neglected to proclaim to the islanders of the South Sea.^d

ARTICLE III.

ST. CHRISTINA.

IN April 1797, Captain Wilson, after settling the missionaries in Otaheite and Tongataboo, sailed for the Marquesas islands, with the view of landing in Santa Christina, Messrs. John Harris, and William Crook, who had both made choice of that island as the scene of their future labours. Harris, however, who had been particularly bent on settling in this quarter, had scarcely landed, when he shrunk from the undertaking; and before the departure of the ship, he determined to return to Otaheite. Crook, a young man of twenty-two, was not so easily disheartened; and, notwithstanding the loss of his companion, he resolved to remain on the island, desiring only such instruments of husbandry, and other articles, as might promote his usefulness among the unenlightened natives. His

^d Authen. Narrative, p. 202, 208, 211.

happiness, he observed, would no doubt have been greatly promoted had he enjoyed a friendly and agreeable associate; but since the Lord had ordered otherwise, he thought it better corresponded with his character and profession to resign himself to his fatherly care, and to trust in his promises, than to abandon a situation where a door of usefulness appeared to be opened to him; and should his blessed Saviour make him the honoured instrument of preparing the way for some of his more able servants, he should, at least, have the pleasure of reflecting that his life was not spent in vain. ^a

Bold, however, as Mr. Crook was, the mission to the Marquesas islands came to a termination sooner than even that to Tongataboo. During the first six months of his residence on Santa Christina, he suffered considerably from hunger, in consequence of the improvidence of the natives; but yet he was kindly treated by the chiefs, who always allowed him to partake of their own scanty morsel. About a year after his arrival, a ship having appeared off the island, he went on board of her with the view of inquiring to what country she belonged, and of writing to Europe by her; but as the wind blew fresh from the mountains, she was not only unable to work her way into the harbour but was carried to the leeward. Being thus prevented from returning to Santa Christina, Mr. Crook requested the captain to carry him to Sir Henry Martyn's, an island about sixty miles to the north-west, and, in compliance with his request, the captain was so obliging as to bear away and land him upon it.

^a Miss. Voyage, p. 45, 86, 112, 132, 137, 139, 141.

On his arrival on this island, the natives were astonished to find a White man who could speak their own language, and, till he dissuaded them from the extravagant idea, they considered him as a god. The principal chief immediately adopted him as his Tayo, and supplied his wants with the greatest liberality. In a short time he obtained a large piece of ground stocked with bread-fruit, co-coa nuts, and tarro roots, which he enclosed with a bamboo fence, and built a house upon it.

After he had resided for seven months on this island, two ships, the Euphrates and Butterworth, both south whalers from London, put in for refreshments, to whom he was of considerable service as interpreter, as well as in procuring for them a plentiful supply of provisions. Despairing of seeing the Duff on this island, he thought he would most effectually serve the cause of the mission by returning to England, and representing to the society the state of the whole group of the Marquesas islands, together with the propriety of sending more missionaries, who, by exhibiting a form of Christian economy in domestic life, might induce the natives to pay greater attention to their instructions. He accordingly embarked in the Butterworth, and sailed for England, where he arrived in May 1799, after an absence of two years and eight months.^b

^b Evan. Mag. vol. vii. p. 261.

ARTICLE IV.

SANDWICH ISLANDS.

IN February 1822, the Rev. Mr. Tyerman, and George Bennet, Esq. the deputation which was sent by the Missionary Society to visit its missions in the South Sea islands, sailed from Huaheine, accompanied by Mr. Ellis, one of the missionaries, and two of the native deacons, in his Britannic Majesty's cutter, the *Mermaid*, which was on its way to the Sandwich islands, to convey a schooner as a present from the king of England, to the king of Owhyhee. The Captain kindly offered them a free passage to the Sandwich islands, promising to touch at the Marquesas on his return, and afterwards to bring them back to Huaheine. They accordingly embraced his offer, thinking this a favourable opportunity of renewing the mission to the Marquesas islands; but, after reaching Owhyhee, some circumstances occurred to prevent their carrying their original intention into effect, and which determined them to attempt the establishment of a mission in the Sandwich islands. Here they met with the missionaries from America, who, about two years before, had settled on these islands, and who, on their arrival, had found the inhabitants prepared to abandon their ancient idolatry, in consequence of the tidings they had received of the change which had taken place in Otaheite and the neighbouring islands.* By these missionaries they were received in the most affectionate manner; and

* See Chapter XII. Section II.

as Mr. Ellis, and the teachers from Huaheine, understood, to a certain extent, the language, the chief of Owhyhee, and many of the inhabitants, earnestly desired that they would remain among them, "to teach them the good book, and all the good things which had been learned in Otaheite." When the deputation first landed on one of the islands where the American missionaries were settled, and while these friends were requesting them to take up their residence in the mission house, a person of respectable appearance, was desiring the two natives to go and reside with him as they were his countrymen. He accordingly introduced them into the house of the queen of Atooi, one of the neighbouring islands, with whose family he was connected. The wife of Auna, one of the deacons, soon discovered that this person was no other than her brother, who had left Otaheite when a boy, and had never been heard of by his relations for nearly thirty years. During their stay with the royal household, the amiable manners, and truly Christian deportment of Auna and his wife, gained them the esteem of the king and queen, who became remarkably inquisitive about the change which had taken place in Otaheite and the neighbouring islands. Every necessary information was cheerfully given them, and every inquiry answered by Auna and his companions, to the entire satisfaction of the chiefs and people, who had previously heard various false reports which had been maliciously propagated among them, as to the degraded state of the inhabitants of the Society islands, and especially of the king and chiefs, who were represented as poor and miserable. The king and queen, and their atten-

dants, even submitted to be taught reading and writing by them, and they were so pleased with these acquisitions, that they requested, that they and Mr. Ellis, would settle on the island and instruct the people. Rehoreho, who appears to be the principal king in the Sandwich islands, his favourite queen, and most of the chiefs, expressed a similar wish, or at least, their decided approbation of the proposal.

With these requests, the deputation were not at first prepared to comply, as they considered the field as already occupied by the American missionaries; but when they submitted these circumstances to them, the latter viewed them as a Providential call to Mr. Ellis and his companions, to settle in the Sandwich islands, and in the spirit of genuine Christianity, promised to receive them as brethren.

As there is so close an analogy between the language of the Sandwich islands, and that of Otaheite, that they may be considered as dialects of the same tongue, Mr. Ellis was already able to address the natives on the subject of religion; and though his acquaintance with the peculiarities of the language was necessarily imperfect, yet many of the people attended on his instructions, and understood the greater part of them. The deputation made a journey through one of the islands, accompanied by Mr. Bingham, one of the American missionaries, and a messenger from the king, and were every where received with the greatest kindness, both by the chiefs and the people. In the course of this excursion, the people listened to the instructions which were addressed to them on various occasions, some-

times within a house, sometimes beneath a tree, and sometimes under the shade of a rock. At one place they were kindly received, and hospitably entertained by an intelligent chief, who was one of the principal priests of the ancient system. He made various inquiries about the nature of the new religion, and among other questions, asked whether Jehovah could understand them if they prayed to him in the Owhyhean language, or whether they must all learn English.

In short, whether the people would receive or reject the gospel, appeared to depend entirely on the command of the sovereign. The government is an absolute monarchy; there is no law but the will of the king. The inhabitants, in general, had thrown away their idols; they might be said to be without any religion, and were literally waiting for a system of faith better than that which they had just abandoned. Some attempts had been made to revive the ancient system of idolatry; but they had not succeeded, as it had but very few advocates among the chiefs or persons of influence in the islands. The great majority of the people were halting between Christianity and heathenism, expressed themselves favourable to the gospel, yet were afraid publicly to attend to religious instruction, lest they should incur the displeasure of the king. The common answer which they gave their visitors when they invited them to attend to religion, was, "We are waiting for the king to send his messengers to tell us that this is his wish, or to see him go before us himself, in learning to read, and in praying to God. When the king begins to pray and to worship Jehovah, then all the people

of the islands will follow.” The king, in fact, frequently expressed his conviction of the truth of Christianity, and the superiority of the principles which it inculcates ; that he intended soon to avow himself a Christian, to worship Jehovah, and to use his influence to make the religion of Christ, the religion of all the islands ; but that, at present, the chiefs were of a different opinion, and seemed satisfied with the existing order of things. The king, however, at length gave his decision in favour of Christianity. One day, it is stated, the chapel overflowed with all the royalty, and other dignity which these islands afforded. All connected with the mission were fully employed communicating instruction in reading and writing, to kings, queens, and chiefs, both old and young. We trust that the pleasing hopes which these circumstances inspire, will not be disappointed ; but that the planting of the gospel in these distant isles of the sea, will at no distant period, be followed by a rich and abundant harvest of the peaceable fruits of righteousness.^a

Such is the history of the missionary establishments in the islands of the Pacific Ocean. Before we close, we shall only remark, that independent of the extraordinary success which has at length crowned the mission in Otaheite, and the neighbouring islands, the undertaking in the first instance, gave such a mighty impulse to the Christian world, that had it entirely failed as to the conversion of the South Sea islanders, the whole expense and labour attending it, would have been amply compensated by the power-

^a Evan. Mag. vol. i. (N.S.) p. 206.

ful effect which it has had in promoting the interests of Christianity in other parts of the world, particularly in Pagan countries. Eliot, and Mayhew, and Brainerd, the Danes, and the Moravians, the Methodists, and the Baptists, had all engaged in missionary undertakings, and most of them with considerable appearance of success. But their operations never awakened the Christian world from the lethargy into which it had fallen. Individuals were interested and delighted with their exertions; but the great body of professed Christians scarcely ever heard either of them or their labours. It was not till the Missionary Society was formed;—it was not till the magnificent mission to the South Sea islands was undertaken, the splendour of which dazzled the eyes of mankind, that the Christian world was aroused from its slumbers. Then a general concern was excited throughout the whole of Christendom, for the conversion of the Heathen. Old establishments were supported with more vigour, and prosecuted with fresh zeal. New institutions were formed for the propagation of the gospel at home and abroad, some of which have already been crowned with extensive success, while others promise a yet more abundant harvest. In short, a new impulse was given to the operations of the Christian world; and this, we think, may be traced in no inconsiderable degree, to the splendour and magnificence of the first mission to the South Sea islands.

SECTION II.

SOUTH AFRICA.

IN December 1798, the Rev. John T. Vanderkemp, M. D. Messrs. J. J. Kicherer, William Edwards, and James Edmonds, sailed for the Cape of Good Hope, on board the Hillsborough, a government transport ship, bound to New South Wales with convicts. As the missionaries had thus an opportunity of labouring for the good of souls even during the voyage, they resolved to lose no time in making some efforts for the instruction of these miserable creatures. They were told, indeed, that if they ventured into the hold among them, the convicts would certainly throw a blanket over them, and rob them of whatever they had in their pockets ; but notwithstanding this representation, the missionaries determined to make the attempt, and, happily, they were received by them with every mark of respect, and listened to with the greatest attention. By the kindness and affability of their manners, they in a few days so conciliated the regard of the prisoners, that they found themselves completely at their ease among them, ventured into the midst of them without the smallest dread, and conversed as freely with them, as if they had been their most intimate friends, and acquaintance. This was the more remarkable, considering the manner in which others were handled by them. One day, before they sailed from Ports-

mouth, several naval officers came on board to search for some deserters, who, it was supposed, had concealed themselves among the convicts; but no sooner had one of the officers, with his gang, attempted to pass the entrance of the orlop deck, than the prisoners seized him, beat him most unmercifully, and wounded him in the head with his own dagger. In the course of the scuffle, he had his coat torn, and lost his hat, together with the sheath of his dagger; and even counted himself fortunate in escaping with his life. Two days after, a cutter, with some officers and a detachment of marines, came to renew the search; but the convicts threatening to murder them if they entered the hold, they wisely desisted from the attempt. About the same time, the prisoners engaged in a plot to murder the officers of the Hillsborough, seize the vessel, and carry her to France; and though the conspiracy was providentially discovered and defeated, yet this did not hinder them, about ten days after, from entertaining the horrid design of sinking the vessel, and escaping in the boats; and with this view many of them had even found means to file off their chains and their handcuffs.

Such was the description of men, among whom the missionaries sought to labour; while, at the same time, the circumstances of their situation rendered the attempt not only disagreeable, but dangerous. About two hundred and forty of these miserable creatures were chained in pairs, hand to hand, or leg to leg, in the orlop deck, which was perfectly dark, except that a little light entered at the hatchways. At first, the darkness of the place,

the rattling of the chains, and the dreadful imprecations of the prisoners, suggested ideas of the most horrid nature, and combined to form a lively picture of the infernal regions. Besides, in a short time, a putrid fever broke out among the convicts, and carried off no fewer than thirty-four of them during the voyage to the Cape of Good Hope. The state of the prison was now loathsome beyond description; yet in this place, as well as in the hospital, surrounded with infection, disease, and death, did the missionaries daily labour to pluck these brands from everlasting burnings. Nor did they seem to labour in vain. In a short time, a number of the convicts appeared to be impressed with convictions of sin, and with concern about their souls. Some of them even agreed to have a prayer meeting among themselves three times a week. Not long before, this place was such a sink of depravity and wretchedness, as to furnish a striking emblem of hell; now it seemed a little heaven. They who once could scarcely speak but to blaspheme, had learned the songs of Zion; and their horrid imprecations were changed into the language of humble praise. There was reason to hope, that some of those who died, departed in the faith of Christ, and were admitted into "the general assembly and church of the first-born."^a

On arriving at the Cape of Good Hope, the missionaries met with a very kind reception from General Dundas, the Lieutenant Governor of the colony, and from many other persons both in a

^a Evan. Mag. vol. vii. p. 337. Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 360.

public and private station. It was originally intended that they should labour together; but owing to particular circumstances, it was now agreed that Dr. Vanderkemp and Edmonds only should proceed to Caffraria, and that Kicherer and Edwards should settle among the Boschemen. We shall now proceed to detail the history of these missions, and also of some others, which were afterwards established in South Africa. ^b

ARTICLE I.

BETHELSDORP.

IN May 1799, Dr. Vanderkemp and his associate Mr. Edmonds, left Capetown, and set off on their journey for Caffraria, the intended scene of their future labours. On the morning of their departure, their lodgings were crowded with friends who came to bid them farewell, and many even of the slaves brought them little presents of fruit, handkerchiefs, and other articles, expressing a grateful sense of their disinterested labours among them. In the course of their journey, nothing could exceed the kindness and attention of the colonists to them. Every where they were welcomed as angels, and heard with the reverence due to apostles. The people crowded from all quarters to hear them preach; for such is the distance of many of the colonists from a place of worship, that they often do not hear a ser-

^b Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 366.

mon for a year together, nay, some scarcely during their whole life. The inhabitants of the colony had been summoned by government to furnish them with oxen, and to afford them every assistance in their power; but this requisition was unnecessary, for every one offered his cattle, horses, and provisions, with the utmost cheerfulness, without asking payment for them. No less than one hundred and ninety-two oxen, seventy-seven horses, and twenty-two Hottentots, were at their service in the course of their journey from Capetown to Graaf Reinet, besides twenty-four oxen of their own, of which fourteen were offered them as a present.^a *

Their journey through the wilderness, however, was tedious, and even dangerous. The country abounded with lions, tigers, wolves, and other beasts of prey; and though they were preserved in safety, yet often they could not sleep for the howling of these ravenous creatures. The wolves, indeed, frequently approached their huts during the night, but the dogs drove them away. One night, a lion broke into their kraal, and killed three sheep, and two goats, but providentially it committed no further mischief. As it was now the depth of winter

^a Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 372, 374. Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 74.

* The kindness of the colonists to Dr. Vanderkemp and his companion is certainly rather singular, and must be attributed chiefly to the novelty of missionaries in that quarter of the country, and to the imperfect idea which these people had of their undertaking. The Dutch peasantry at the Cape of Good Hope are, with some exceptions, among the basest, and most degraded beings on the face of the earth, and the determined enemies of the instruction of the Hottentots.

in that quarter of the globe, the cold was often very severe. One morning, the water in their calabashes was frozen, the ink in their tent was converted into a lump of ice, and the drops of water spilt on the mats which served them for a table at breakfast, were congealed even in the sunshine. On approaching the boundaries of the colony, they found the country in a state of complete anarchy, owing to the dissensions which subsisted between the Dutch boors and some rebel Caffres. Several murders had already been committed on both sides; and it was said that the Caffres had united with the Hottentots to destroy the whole of the colonists. Strange as it may seem, one of the boors, named Piet Prinslo, charged Dr. Vanderkemp with all these disorders; and even told him to his face, that it was he who had stirred up the Caffres to kill and plunder the colonists, and that he had said to the Hottentots, pointing to the cattle, "These you have a right to: Take them freely; they are yours." It is scarcely necessary to say, that this accusation was a gross falsehood.^b

Having arrived on the borders of Caffraria, the missionaries sent an embassy to Geika, the king of that part of the country, and shortly after they received a very friendly answer from him, encouraging them to come and settle with him. He desired them to make all haste; and as a token of his favour and protection, sent them his tobacco-box, which would be universally respected by his people; but he warned them at the same time against certain of the Caffres whom he considered as rebels

^b Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 376, 378, 383, 385.

against him. Indeed, the missionaries, and some colonists who accompanied them, had already been attacked by them, and lost a considerable number of their cattle; and on the day after the return of the messengers, they had not proceeded above three hours on their journey, when a great multitude of the rebels appeared upon the mountains on their left hand, and rushing down with a horrid clamour, attempted to break in upon their waggons. A battle ensued; and after an engagement of about an hour, the Caffres retreated, but carried away the cattle of the colonists.^c

Not discouraged by these circumstances, the missionaries pursued their journey, and at length arrived at the place of Geika's residence. They were immediately surrounded by about a hundred Caffres and after they had waited, about ten minutes, the king made his appearance in a majestic solemn attitude, attended on each side by one of his principal men. He was covered with a long robe of panthers' skins, and had a diadem of copper and another of beads round his head; his cheeks and lips were painted red, and in his hand he held an iron club. He stopped about twenty paces from them; and one of his captains signified to them, that this was the king. They then stepped forward to him, and he, at the same time, marched toward them. He reached them his right hand, but spoke not a word. Behind him stood his captains and women, ranged in the form of a crescent; and at some distance, the rest of the people. After delivering him his tobacco-box, filled with buttons, Dr. Vander-

^c Evan. Mag. vol. viii. p. 76. Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 384, 386.

kemp, inquired whether there was any person present who could speak Dutch ; but nobody made a reply, only some smiled. In about a quarter of an hour, however, a man arrived dressed in the European fashion, whose name was Buys, one of the colonists who had taken refuge in Caffraria, and who now acted as interpreter. The king, having sat down on an ants' hill, asked the missionaries, what was their errand : to which Dr. Vanderkemp replied, that they came to instruct him and his people in matters which would make them happy, both in this world and in the world to come ; that they only asked permission to settle in the country, the privilege of his protection, and liberty to return home whenever they pleased. In reply to this, the king observed, that they had come at a very unfavourable period, for the whole country was then in a state of confusion, though he designed nothing but peace, and had no concern in the war which subsisted between the colonists and some of the Caffres; and therefore he advised them not to stay with him. "Your people," said he, "look on me as a great man ; but I am not able to entertain you as you ought to be entertained : You look for safety, but I can find no safety for myself ; neither can I protect you, for I cannot protect myself." To this Dr. Vanderkemp answered, that they were only private persons willing to provide for themselves ; that they did not imagine he could remove the common calamities of war, but that they would endeavour to bear them with patience ; and that they asked no other protection from him than he was able to afford the meanest of his subjects. The king

repeated to them, however, his first advice, not to stay in the country. ^d

Thus the prospect of establishing a mission in Caffraria, seemed, completely over-clouded. Two days after, the missionaries learned that Piet Prinslo had sent intelligence to the king, that they were spies and assassins, and that they had enchanted poisoned wine with them, to kill him, advising him to keep them prisoners, till he should come and convict them of this crime, and warning him not to taste their wine. This information naturally made a deep impression on the mind of Geika, and it would not have been wonderful though he had put them both to death, without further delay. To aggravate Dr. Vanderkemp's distress, the people who were with him attributed the whole of these evils to him, as if he had been the instrument of involving them in these perils, though they knew that he had often warned them of such things, and that they had accompanied him into Caffraria of their own accord. "As for myself," says he, "I knew that when I came into this country, I entered it having the sentence of death in myself, that I should not trust in myself, but in the living God, who raiseth the dead." ^e

By degrees, these unfavourable impressions appear to have been effaced from the mind of the king, and on the representation of Buys the interpreter, he assigned the missionaries some land on the other side of the river Keiskamma, with liberty to remain or to leave the country whenever they pleased. The place allotted to them was a beau-

^d Miss. Trans.-vol. i. p. 394. ^e Ibid. vol. i. p. 397, 399.

tiful field of grass, in the middle of an amphitheatre of high mountains, inhabited by numbers of Caffres, consisting of different kraals, eleven of which were in their immediate vicinity. Round the foot of the mountains ran the river Guakoeby, which afforded them most excellent water. The ascent of the mountains was covered by a thick forest, containing trees of every description. Beyond them were meadows of vast extent, and of a beautiful verdure; and on the summit there was an inaccessible forest. Here Dr. Vanderkemp immediately began to clear part of the ground for a garden, and, with the assistance of Buys and his people, he erected a house for himself. In consequence of the want of salt, he set off on horseback, to seek for a convenient place on the sea shore for a salt pan, and having found a suitable situation, he returned on the evening of the fourth day; but as in this excursion he had neither hat, nor shoes, nor stockings, his head and feet were severely wounded by the stones and thorn bushes.^f

In April 1800, Dr. Vanderkemp, who was now in the country alone, Mr. Edmonds having left him, received orders from Geika to leave the place of his present residence, and to remove to the river Debe. Though the king had promised him protection, and even refused him permission to leave the country, yet jealousy at times still haunted his mind. One day he came to the place where the Doctor was, attended by about fifty Caffres and Hottentots; and though these had only a single kiri, club, or assagay in their hands, yet about two hundred more lay

^f Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 399, 404, 405, 413.

concealed in the neighbouring woods, completely armed with shields and darts, as if they had been prepared for an engagement. He acknowledged to Buys, that the Hottentots had incited him to treat Dr. Vanderkemp and him as his enemies, having told him that they both had some evil design against him ; but now he was convinced, by their appearance, that the charge was without foundation. Not long after, however, a new plot was formed for murdering the Doctor, as a conspirator against the king and the colonists ; but through the gracious interposition of Providence, the design was laid aside.^g

In the meanwhile, Dr. Vanderkemp had not neglected the great object of his settlement in this wild and barbarous country. He early opened a school, in which he instructed a number of young people in the Dutch and Caffre languages, and in the principles of the Christian religion. He also preached as often as he had opportunity, to a few who understood the Dutch language. By means of his labours, several Hottentot women appeared to be impressed with divine things ; and, after some months, he had the pleasure of baptizing one of them named Sarah, together with her three children, in the river Keiskamma ; but immediately after, she and two or three others of whom he had conceived favourable hopes, were removed to a distant part of the country. Anxious for the spiritual welfare of these young converts, and afraid of the temptations to which they might be exposed from Satan and the world, he resolved to follow them,

^g Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 409, 411, 416, 421.

that he might have an opportunity of watching over them, and attending to the care of their souls.^h

In January 1801, Dr. Vanderkemp left Caffraria along with a number of the colonists, who fled from this barbarous country, under the pretext of going on a hunting expedition. The whole company, consisting of about sixty persons, proceeded forward in three waggons and a cart, having with them upwards of three hundred cattle, besides goats, and sheep, and horses. Soon after their departure, they were attacked by the Boschemen, but they drove them back with a few gun shots. Their situation, however, was very alarming, as, from the dread of being discovered by the savages, they were afraid to light their fires in the night, and so were exposed to the lions and other beasts of prey, which roam at large through that dreary region. After removing from place to place, and meeting with a variety of difficulties and hardships, Dr. Vanderkemp came to Graaf Reinet, where, to his inexpressible joy, he found Mr. James Read, and a Dutchman named Vanderlingen, two new missionaries who had come to his assistance. Here he learned that his stay with the emigrated colonists in Caffraria had been the only obstacle which had prevented the march of a body of soldiers to seize them, as it was foreseen that this violent step would have exposed him to considerable danger.ⁱ

While Dr. Vanderkemp was in Caffraria, he had received letters from Graaf Reinet, requesting him

^h Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 411, 420, 423, 425, 430.

ⁱ Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 431, 469, 479.

to come and take the pastoral charge of the colonists in that place. This invitation was now repeated, but he still declined it, as his heart was set on the conversion of the Heathen. It was agreed, however, that Vanderlingen should accept of it; while the Doctor and his new associate, Mr. Read, should employ themselves in instructing the Hottentots, in the town and neighbourhood. This last measure, it might have been supposed, could have given no offence to the Christian inhabitants of the country, or rather that it would have afforded them the greatest satisfaction; but scarcely had the missionaries commenced their labours, when a number of the colonists rose in arms, threatened to attack the village, and to put a period to the instruction of the Hottentots. Having approached the town on horseback, they halted at about the distance of a gunshot from it, and sent a messenger to Mr. Maynier the commissioner, demanding, among other things, that the Hottentots should no longer be admitted into the church, and that the seats should be washed, the pavement broken up, and the pulpit covered with black cloth, as a sign of mourning for the want of a regular clergyman. Anxious to prevent the effusion of human blood, the missionaries intimated to Mr. Maynier, that they would willingly leave the church and instruct the Hottentots in some other place. But as the insurgents were by no means satisfied with this and some other concessions that were made to them, Mr. Lyndon, the commander of the troops, agreed next morning, to allow them till one o'clock, to settle matters in a friendly manner, but threatened that he would then attack them without de-

lay, if they still persisted in their obstinacy. The line of battle was drawn up in the form of a crescent; the right, consisting of the Hottentots, leaned against the village; the left, formed of the Pandours, against the church; the English dragoons were in the centre, and four field-pieces were placed in the front, on the left. Intimidated by these warlike preparations, the insurgents sent a messenger, requesting three days for deliberation; but Mr. Lyndon returned for answer, that if they still persisted, he was determined to attack them at the hour he had previously stipulated. Upon this they retreated, and in a few days matters appeared to be amicably settled through the mediation of Dr. Vanderkemp. Among the heads of this conspiracy was Vanderwalt, a man who had shewn the missionaries much kindness, when they first entered the country.^k

Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Read, having, by the authority of Mr. Maynier the commissioner, made a short visit to Caffraria, with the view of settling the differences between the Caffres and the colonists, the rebels circulated a paper, in which they represented them as having been endeavouring to stir up Geika against them, and summoned their countrymen to march once more against Graaf Reinet. Accordingly, it was not long before they again rose in arms. Early one morning, as Dr. Vanderkemp was going to the water to wash some linen, he observed a multitude of Hottentot women and children running from the neighbouring kraals, towards the barracks; and while he was inquiring

^k Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 479, 483.

the reason of their flight, he discovered that the rebels had completely surrounded the village, and were advancing from every quarter. At the same moment the great guns of the barracks and redoubt were fired upon them. The firing continued on both sides, from six, without interruption till half past nine, and with some intervals till sunset. In the course of the day, Dr. Vanderkemp had twice occasion to pass by the rebels, who suffered him to approach pretty near them, and then fired a number of shots at him, but providentially he escaped unhurt. The reports which were circulated concerning that excellent man, would appear truly astonishing, did we not know that, in every age, the most devoted servants of God have, in a peculiar manner, been the object of the hatred and slander of the world, and that even the friends of religion have too often united with the ungodly in calumniating their character, and checking their usefulness. Not only were the rebels greatly exasperated against Dr. Vanderkemp, but many of the more pious people in the colony represented him as guilty of the most scandalous enormities, and as entirely given over to the devil. These reports, he was grieved to learn, had made a very unfavourable impression, even on some of his particular friends; but he comforted himself with the words of our Lord, "Blessed are ye when men shall say all manner of evil against you falsely for my sake."¹

In February 1802, the missionaries left Graaf Reinet with a considerable number of Hottentots, and proceeded to Bota's Place, in the neighbourhood

¹ Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 487, 492, 493, 495.

of Algoa Bay, where General Dundas, the governor of the Cape, had assigned them a settlement. Anxious to promote the improvement of the Hottentots, he had written Dr. Vanderkemp to proceed with all possible despatch in forming a missionary establishment in that quarter, and desired him to transmit a list of such articles as were necessary for its erection, that he might send them from Capetown as a present to the institution. He even anticipated the wishes of the missionaries, and in the mean time despatched a ship to Algoa Bay, with rice and other articles, which he thought they would need immediately upon their arrival; and though intelligence soon afterward reached the Cape, that by the peace of Amiens the colony was restored to the Dutch, yet this made no alteration in the governor's friendly conduct toward them.^m

No sooner was the missionary institution begun at Bota's Place, than it became the object of the hatred and opposition of the neighbouring colonists. Dr. Vanderkemp, and his associate Mr. Read, were described by them as men who took part with the plundering Caffres and Hottentots, to the imminent danger of the peaceable inhabitants of the country, and who made the settlement a receptacle for robbers and murderers. The truth is, the missionaries never had the smallest connexion with any of the plundering parties; but they received into the institution such as separated themselves from them, and from aversion to their past ways, came to hear the word of God, and to live in tranquillity and peace. In consequence, however, of the clamours

^m Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 495, 500, 503.

and misrepresentations of the boors, they received an order from government, prohibiting them from admitting any more Hottentots into the settlement, or having any connexion with the tribes on the Sunday river. By this means, they were compelled, to their inexpressible grief, to refuse many of these poor unfortunate creatures, principally women and children, who nevertheless chose rather to live in the woods among the beasts, than return to their more savage countrymen.

Before the colony was delivered into the hands of the Dutch, General Dundas unexpectedly paid the missionaries a visit at Algoa Bay. On account of the distracted state of the country, he advised them either to remove with the institution into Fort Frederick, which was only about seven miles distant, and for this purpose offered them all the remaining buildings in that place; or to accompany him to Capetown, and to defer the instruction of the Hottentots in this quarter till peace was established. The first of these offers, they declined, for several reasons; but they reserved the right of availing themselves of it, should they find it impossible to remain at Bota's Place. As to the other proposal, both of them expressed their firm determination not to leave their people, whatever might be the consequences. Dr. Vanderkemp said, that even if he knew it would cost him his life, yet he was not afraid to offer it up for the meanest child among them. Mr. Read, with no less resolution, declared, that though his father Dr. Vanderkemp should have resolved to leave the place, yet for his part, he was determined not to have followed his example, but to venture his life along with their people. The

governor, finding them both so resolute, desisted from his persuasions; and as a further proof of his approbation of their labours, he made a present to the institution of the following articles: Six thousand pounds of rice, six casks of salt meat, two hundred sheep, one hundred and sixty-six black cattle, three waggons, one corn mill, a smith's bellows, and various other utensils.

Scarcely had the English left the country, when a troop of plundering Hottentots attacked the missionary settlement in the middle of the night, and carried away all the cattle. One of the most esteemed of the Hottentots belonging to the institution approached them, and spoke in a friendly manner: but they cried, "Look, there comes a peace-maker, kill him, shoot him;" upon which they wounded him with a ball in the leg. The missionaries hoped they would have been content with their cattle, but it seemed also to be their intention to take their lives. They made an assault upon their dwellings, and for this purpose they employed the cattle in the manner of the Caffres. Providentially, however, Mr. Read had laid some newly sawn planks between the house of the missionaries and the one adjoining to it. The cattle which the enemy drove before them, being afraid of these, would not step over them, but turning aside, left the robbers completely exposed. The inhabitants of the settlement, compelled by self-defence, fired among them, without being able to take any particular aim, on account of the darkness of the night; but though they fired only two shots, one of them wounded the chief of the party in the thigh, and the large artery being cut through, the effusion of

blood was so violent that he died in a few minutes. The whole troop immediately fled, leaving behind them all the cattle, except eighteen which they had driven away in the beginning of the assault. On the following night, however, the settlement was again visited by enemies, but on finding that the inhabitants had removed their cattle from the kraal into the square which was surrounded by the houses, and barricadoed at all the entrances, they left them unmolested. Two days after, they returned in greater numbers, and attacked the settlement in the middle of the day, as part of the cattle were driving to the pasture, and they stabbed one of the woodcutters who had gone into the forest to pray. The inhabitants now attacked them in great confusion, but with terrible fury, leaving the place, with their wives and children, totally undefended. They soon put the robbers to flight, and brought the cattle back again, except eight oxen, which were either killed or mortally wounded. The missionaries had always taught their people rather to part with their worldly goods, than to save them at the expense of destroying a fellow creature; that it was never lawful to kill a person, unless when it was absolutely necessary for self-preservation, or in defence of others. But this doctrine was not very palatable to the taste of a Hottentot; a circumstance which occasioned the missionaries much regret, as they wished to win their enemies by mild and gentle treatment, and by no means to provoke them by unnecessary opposition. Besides, they foresaw that the enemy might soon be able to bring forward such a force as entirely to destroy the settlement, and to scatter or murder the inhabitants.

For this reason, they immediately removed the institution to Fort Frederick, until they should obtain from government a place where they might live in security and peace.ⁿ

In Fort Frederick, the situation of the missionaries was not materially improved. Here they had to suffer new and severe trials, partly from the opposition of the boors, in whose hands General Dundas had left the fortress until the Dutch should arrive, partly from the wretched state of their people for want of food, clothes, and other necessaries. The boors daily uttered the most abominable slanders against them; and had it been in their power, it is probable they would have murdered them outright. But as they were either afraid, or had no opportunity to attack them, they left no means untried to seize on their property, and that of the Hottentots; it was even unsafe for the children to be out of their parents sight, as they were in danger of being stolen and sent to distant parts of the country. Besides, they endeavoured to blast the labours of the missionaries, by corrupting the people both in principle and practice. They attempted to make them disbelieve the word of God, and to despise the Saviour; they told them that hell was not so intolerably hot as it was said to be, but only a comfortable place, well adapted for such as like them smoked tobacco; they laboured to seduce them to drunkenness, uncleanness, and other vices; and in some instances they were too successful. Here, however, they did not even stop. Nothing short of imbruing their hands in the blood of these poor

ⁿ Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 84.

people, could satiate their inveterate malice. A Hottentot and a Bastard* belonging to the institution, were murdered by them in a most horrid manner, besides many others not connected with the missionaries. ° †

In April 1803, Major Von Gelter, arrived as commander of the fort with a small body of troops under his command; and immediately upon his arrival, the tyranny of the boors ceased. Shortly after, Governor Jansens, who was travelling through the country, to examine into the causes of the

° Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 158.

* The term *Bastard* applied to a Hottentot, does not mean that he is illegitimate, but merely that he is of a mixed breed.

† Many and most shocking instances of barbarity, inflicted on this unfortunate race of people, are recorded in a pamphlet published at the Cape, by Baron de P——, private secretary to Governor Jansens. Among others, there is an account of the murder of fifteen innocent Hottentots, who, having come to a farm to beg some hemp and tobacco, were inhumanly tortured, to extort a confession that they had come with an intention to plunder the colonists, and were afterwards shot. The following example of brutality is so shocking, that we shall give a translation of the statement: “As soon as the English had abandoned the fort at Algoa Bay, a boor named Ferrara, of a Portuguese family, made himself master of it, and kept possession of it till the arrival of a detachment of troops, which government sent thither, under the command of Major Von Gelter. The Caffres, fully persuaded that the late peace had put an end to all differences between them, sent to the new commander of the fort, a bullock to be slain as a testimony of reconciliation and friendship. The Caffre sent on this occasion, put himself under the guidance of a Hottentot; and Ferrara, by way of returning the kind intention, laid hold of the Caffre, and broiled him alive. As for the poor Hottentot, he bound him to a tree, cut a piece of flesh out of his thigh, made him eat it raw, and then released him.” *Edinburgh Encyclopædia*, vol. v. p. 399.

disorders which every where prevailed, arrived in this quarter. His Excellency's mind had been prepossessed against the institution, by the false and injurious representations which had been made of it to him, by the enemies of religion; but he now appeared to be convinced of the utility of the undertaking; and he assigned the missionaries a tract of land for a settlement, about ten miles in circumference, and seven miles to the northward of Fort Frederick. This spot was in some respects preferable to Bota's place. It was more healthy, afforded better pasturage for sheep and cattle, and furnished excellent pot-clay and lime; but it was ill adapted for producing corn; it yielded no timber, neither was there such abundance of fire-wood and water as could have been wished. Notwithstanding these disadvantages, they proceeded to build themselves houses on this spot, and called the place Bethelsdorp, or the village of Bethel.^p

Amidst their various external trials, the missionaries had often no small pleasure, in witnessing the fruit of their labours among the Heathen. Many of the Hottentots were brought under deep concern for their souls, and appeared to be the subjects of divine grace. Of some of these it may not be uninteresting to give a short account. Cupido, previous to his conversion, was perhaps as notorious a sinner as ever was known. He was infamous for swearing, lying, and fighting, but especially for drunkenness, which often laid him on a sick-bed, as he had naturally a feeble constitution. On these occasions, he often resolved to

^p Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 161, 163, 247.

abandon that infatuating vice, and to lead a sober life; but no sooner did health return, than he was again led captive by it. Sometimes, however, he was afraid of the anger of God, and being apprehensive that his wickedness would at length prove the ruin of his soul, he inquired of all he met with, by what means he might be delivered from the snare of drunkenness, imagining, that if he had once abandoned that, it would be an easy matter to forsake his other sins. Some advised him to apply to the witches and wizards; but these proved miserable comforters, for they told him, that his life was not worth a farthing. Others prescribed various kinds of medicines to him, but though he eagerly took them, they also proved of no avail. He was at length providentially led to Graaf Reinet, where he heard Vanderlingen declare, in a sermon, that Christ Jesus was able to save the guilty from their sins. On hearing these glad tidings, he said to himself, "That is what I want; that is what I want." His convictions of sin were afterwards greatly increased, by means of a discourse of Dr. Vanderkemp's. All his evil deeds seemed now to rise up in array before him; every word of the sermon, he thought, was directed to him. At first, indeed, this only excited in his breast a violent animosity against an old woman with whom he had lived, and by whom, he imagined, his character had been made known, to the landrost's wife, and through means of her to the missionaries. This apprehension, however, was not of long duration, for as he continued to attend on the means of grace, the secrets of his heart were still further manifested, and he was, at length, obliged to exclaim, "This

is not of men, but of God!" He now became earnest in seeking after an interest in Christ, and was exceedingly zealous in promoting the salvation of others. It was often no small pleasure to the missionaries, to hear him recommend Christ Jesus, as the only Saviour from sin, one who could destroy it, both root and branch, as he could testify from his own experience.^a

Samson, another of the converts, seemed to be, in some degree, prepared to receive the gospel, as soon as it was made known to him. For several years, it is said, he had felt much anxiety on the subject of religion, wishing to know, Whether there was a God; what he was; and what he required of his creatures. This, however, was a degree of knowledge which he could not attain, as there was no one who could or would shew him the way to heaven. From the time that the United Brethren settled in South Africa, he was exceedingly anxious to get out of service, in order to go to them, but he could never obtain his liberty. During the commotions of the district of Graaf Reinet, and while the boors were flying from their habitations, Samson was falsely accused of having made known to the English where they intended to go. He was immediately bound in chains, with the view of being put to death next morning; but during the night, he broke loose from his fetters, and fled to Graaf Reinet, which was at that time an asylum for hundreds of Hottentots, who were obliged to fly from their barbarous masters. Having arrived at this place, he found himself, to his great joy, in

^a Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 166.

possession of those means of instruction for which he had been longing for several years ; and he resolved never to leave them, till he had learned what was necessary to his eternal happiness. He now attended on the word with the utmost diligence ; and having a good memory, he made great proficiency in Christian knowledge. By degrees, he began to see his lost state without Christ, and after some months, he was baptized by Dr. Vanderkemp, sitting in his sick-bed. Samson now became very bold in the cause of Christ, warning and admonishing sinners, of every description, to flee from the wrath to come. Whether they were persons of superior or inferior rank, he was not ashamed to avow his faith before them ; nor did he fail to tell the colonists of their neglect in keeping him and his countrymen ignorant of the truths of religion. ^r

The history of Kruisman, another of the converts, is likewise not unworthy of notice. He lived with a farmer in the neighbourhood, who treated him with much cruelty, on account of the wish he expressed, to go to the missionary institution and be instructed in the word of God. He had for several years been concerned about his soul, but could get nobody to tell him who or what God was. He conceived, however, that the things he daily saw and heard, such as murder, drunkenness, adultery, and swearing, could not be pleasing to him. His master's treatment of him became so intolerable, that he was compelled to complain to a magistrate, who released him from his oppressor, and gave him

^r Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 168.

liberty to attend on the instructions of the missionaries. It was interesting to see with what attention he listened to the truths of religion. He was now convinced that the evils which he had witnessed in others were no less chargeable on himself, and he began almost to despair that such a monster of iniquity could be saved; but he at length obtained, in Christ Jesus, that peace and rest, which nothing in the world could afford him. Some of the other converts, as is too often the case, appeared afterwards to lose much of their first love, though it was still hoped they were partakers of divine grace; but this was not the case with Kruisman, who appears uniformly to have maintained a conduct consistent with his Christian profession. Besides learning to read and write, he appeared to make no inconsiderable progress in the knowledge and practice of true religion. "Free grace, free grace alone," he often cried, "can bring me to heaven!"^s

In April 1805, Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Read received an order from Governor Jansens to repair to Capetown without delay, in consequence of the complaints and accusations which the boors had brought against them. When this was made known to their people it produced among them a general sensation of sorrow. Providentially, however, Mr. Ulbright, a new missionary, and one or two other assistants, had lately arrived at Bethelsdorp, so that they would not be left destitute of the means of instruction. Before leaving the village, Dr. Vanderkemp addressed them from that

^s Rep. Miss. Soc. 1806, p. 9.—Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 155.

affecting declaration of David, when he was driven from Jerusalem by the unnatural rebellion of his son Absalom: "If I shall find favour in the eyes of the Lord, he will bring me again and shew me both it and his holy habitation: But if he say, I have no delight in thee, behold here am I, let him do to me as seemeth good unto him." Having taken a tender and affectionate farewell of their beloved people, the Doctor and his associate Mr. Read proceeded on their journey, and after travelling about five weeks, arrived in safety at Capetown. Here they were detained for several months, and had no other prospect before them but of being soon obliged to leave the country. Their frequent applications to the governor for liberty to return to their congregation at Bethelsdorp, to pursue their missionary labours in some other part of the colony, or to undertake an exploratory excursion into the countries beyond its limits, were all rejected, in consequence of the violent outcries of the boors against them, who represented them as Englishmen, and in the English interest, and therefore of dangerous influence among the inhabitants.^t Such was the situation of the missionaries, when the God whom they served, and in whose cause they suffered, appeared for their deliverance, by one of those singular interpositions of his providence, by which he has often rescued his people when their distress has reached its greatest extremity.

In January 1806, a British fleet, consisting of near sixty sail of vessels, appeared off the coast, and the troops on board having landed, under the

^t Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 1, 4.

command of Sir David Baird, the Cape fell into their hands after a short resistance. Immediately after the surrender of the town, General Baird sent for Dr. Vanderkemp, and treated him with uncommon politeness. He even took him along with him to see the Hottentot prisoners of war, and was so obliging as to refer it to him, whether or not they should be set at liberty. He soon after gave him permission to return to Bethelsdorp, and for this purpose granted him one of the waggons which had been taken from the late Dutch governor, while Mr. Read, by his particular request, went by sea.^u Thus, the storm which threatened the mission was happily averted, and the missionaries were once more restored to their beloved people.

Not long after his return to Bethelsdorp, Dr. Vanderkemp made a narrow escape with his life. One day as some workmen were raising a heavy frame of wood upon a house which he was building, it suddenly slipped off from the post on which it rested, struck his head, and wounded him in several places. The blood ran both from his nose and mouth, and a tooth was forced out of his jaw; but happily his life was preserved. Little more than a twelvemonth after, he made another and still more remarkable escape. Two of the oxen had entangled their horns in those of each other, and as they were bent in the Caffre manner, it was impossible to separate them, without binding the animals and throwing them upon the ground. As soon, however, as they were loosed, an operation in which the Doctor assisted, they sprung on their

feet, burning with rage. The people fled, but one of the infuriated animals overtook the venerable old man, caught him upon its horns, and threw him on the ground to the distance of several paces. In the fall, his leg was grazed, and his hip writhed in such a manner, that he could not for some days lift it up; but yet he suffered no other material injury. It is likewise not unworthy of notice, that about this period, they had been without bread for a long time, nor did they expect to get any for three or four months to come; a privation greater, perhaps, than it is possible for persons to conceive who have never known it by experience. ^v

But circumstances of this description were not their only, nor even their heaviest trials. The school, which for a considerable time had been well attended by the children, began to be neglected by them: and many of the young people in the settlement broke through all restraint. Both these evils were owing, in no small degree, to the carelessness of the parents. The indifference of a Hottentot to the welfare of his offspring is astonishing, and even almost inhuman. He has little, indeed, to stimulate him to exertion in their behalf. A slave and a drudge himself to some tyrant of a boor, he has no ambition, and scarcely any hope, of his son rising to a higher station in life. But this disorderly conduct and disregard of instruction were by no means confined to the youth. The thirst for knowledge had materially abated among the people in general, while, at the same time, the ignorance of many of them was altoge-

^v Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 147, 156, 199.

ther shameful. There was also a visible decay of spiritual life among numbers of those, whom yet the missionaries hoped were plants, which their heavenly Father had planted. Some by their inattention and stupidity ; some by their worldly mindedness ; some by more open transgressions, occasioned them the most pungent grief. Several even of those whom they considered as most eminent for piety, sunk most deeply in the mire. It may be remarked, however, that in many cases, their disorderly conduct was to be ascribed, not so much to the want of knowledge or of piety, as to the absence of those auxiliary restraints which arise from a regard to the respect and esteem of their fellow men, and which have so powerful an influence on the behaviour of civilized nations.^w

In March 1811, Dr. Vanderkemp and Mr. Read set off from Bethelsdorp for Capetown, having been summoned to appear before an extraordinary commission, which had been appointed by Lord Caledon, the governor, to afford their evidence in the investigation of numerous charges of cruelty and murder, committed by the boors in the vicinity of Bethelsdorp, of which the missionaries had repeatedly made the most urgent complaints. They communicated to the commissioners more than a hundred cases of Hottentots, said to have been murdered, chiefly since the missionary institution was established at that place. In consequence of this information, his Excellency directed, that the commissioners should personally visit the several districts in which these

^w Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 147, 200, 289.

enormities were alleged to have been committed, to examine more particularly into them, and, on conviction, to punish the guilty. But though the Governor was anxious to do justice to the Hottentots, and to afford them the protection of the laws, yet when the court afterwards sat, few of the cases which came before it could be substantiated by legal evidence, as, according to the Dutch code, the oath of a Hottentot is not admissible; and in the present state of the colony, it was scarcely possible to get one white man to appear as a witness against another, with respect to cruelties exercised on these defenceless unoffending creatures. Before, therefore, any essential advantages can result from this institution, a law would require to be enacted, admitting at least, such of the Hottentots as have enjoyed the benefit of instruction, to give evidence on oath before a court of justice. ^x

Numerous as had been Dr. Vanderkemp's trials in the establishment of the mission at Bethelsdorp, yet as he thought it had now attained such a degree of stability, as that it might safely be committed to the care of a younger missionary, he resolved, notwithstanding his advanced age, and his many infirmities, to undertake a new mission to some other part of the world, where the gospel of Christ was yet unknown; and he at length fixed on the island of Madagascar as the scene of his future labours. That populous and long neglected country had for many years engaged his particular

^x Rep. Miss. Soc. 1812, p. 3. Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 205, 396, 398. Campbell's Travels in South Africa, 1st. Edit. p. 480.

attention; and he longed to communicate to its benighted inhabitants the blessings of the gospel of peace. His health, indeed, had for some time, been visibly on the decline, and his friends contemplated, with painful apprehensions, his projected mission to Madagascar. In consequence of successive strokes of apoplexy, he could scarcely use his right leg, and often expected, when he left home, that he would not again return. Nothing, however, could shake his resolution of proceeding to Madagascar, until a gentleman called one day, and made some observations on the impropriety of either Mr. Read or him leaving the colony at that juncture; that having laid before government numerous details of complaints, in which many persons were involved, their leaving the country before the business was investigated, would seem as if they were afraid to abide the inquiry. This consideration appeared to wound his generous heart; and from that time he was in great perplexity with regard to the path of duty. Sometimes he thought of going to England to plead the cause of the Hottentots, and to secure for his children a good education; but he appears to have relinquished this idea, and his mind still hankered after Madagascar. His colleague Mr. Read had never known him in such a state of uncertainty and distress; and it is probable, that this tended not a little to hasten his dissolution.^y

One morning, after he had expounded a chapter of the Bible, much to the satisfaction of some pious friends, he found himself very unwell, and said to

^y Rep. Miss. Soc. 1812, p. 5.—Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 405.

Mrs. Smith, "My dear friend, I feel very weak, and could wish that I might have time to settle my own affairs." Such, however, was not the will of God. He was seized with a cold shivering, and other symptoms of fever, and was under the necessity of retiring to bed. From that bed he rose no more. His disorder rapidly increased, notwithstanding the use of suitable remedies. A lethargic heaviness suppressed his mental powers. He was almost incapable of speaking; and it was with extreme difficulty, he could be prevailed on to answer the simplest question. A day or two before his departure, Mrs. Smith asked him, What was the state of his mind. To this inquiry, he, with a smile on his countenance, gave this short but emphatic reply, "All is well." At length, after a short illness of about eight days, he breathed his last on the Lord's day morning, December 15th, 1811, in the sixty-fourth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his labours, as a missionary among the Heathen. Thus died Dr. Vanderkemp, a man in whom were found some singular traits of character, and it may not be uninteresting to introduce in this place, a slight sketch of his history.

Dr. Vanderkemp, was the son of a pious and worthy minister of the Dutch church in Rotterdam. At an early period of life, he entered the University of Leyden, and so astonishing was his progress in literature, that those who were best acquainted with him, considered him as a most extraordinary man, and as promising to be one of the most distinguished characters of the age. On leaving that seat of learning, he entered the army, in which he rose to be a captain of horse, and lieutenant of

the dragoon guards. Unhappily, however, he had imbibed the principles of infidelity, and, casting off the restraints of a religious education, he became, to use his own words, “the slave of vice and ungodliness.” Such was the impression which this made on the mind of his excellent father, that it is said to have accelerated his death. Marriage, however, produced some external reformation, and put a period to some of his irregularities. After spending sixteen years in the army, he quitted that service, in which, had he continued, he had the prospect of rising to the first rank, being no less distinguished for military courage, than for extensive learning. Having determined to enter on the practice of medicine, a profession for which his qualifications were already considerable, he, with the view of further improvement, came to the University of Edinburgh, where, for two years, he pursued his studies with unremitting assiduity. During his residence in that city, he published a Latin work on Cosmology, entitled *Parmenides*; and having obtained the degree of doctor in medicine, he returned to his native country, and began to practise as a physician at Middleburg, in the island of Zeeland. After practising medicine for some time at that place, he retired to Dort, intending to spend the rest of his days in literary pursuits, and in rural amusements.^z

During this period, Dr. Vanderkemp continued to maintain the principles of infidelity. His views, however, were singular, perhaps peculiar to himself. “Christianity,” says he, “appeared to me

^z Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 349, 352. Memoir of Dr. Vanderkemp, p. 3

inconsistent with reason; the Bible, a collection of incoherent opinions, tales, and prejudices. With regard to the character of Christ, I looked upon him as a man of sense and learning; but who, by his opposition to the ecclesiastical and political maxims of the Jews, became the object of their hatred, and fell a martyr to his own system. I often celebrated the memorial of his death; but at length reflecting, that he called himself the Son of God, and professed to perform miracles, he lost all my former veneration.

“I then prayed that God would prepare me, by punishing my sins, for virtue and happiness; I thanked him for every misfortune; but I soon found, that though often severely chastened, I was neither wiser nor better. I therefore prayed to God, that he would shew me, in every instance, the particular crime for which he corrected me, that so I might know and avoid it; but finding this in vain, I was apprehensive I should never be amended by means of punishment, at least in the present life. Still, however, I hoped, that after death, I might be delivered from moral evil, by more severe sufferings, in some kind of purgatory; but reflecting afterwards that punishment had proved totally ineffectual in producing even the lowest degree of virtue in my breast, I was constrained to acknowledge, that my principle, however plausible in theory, was completely refuted by experience. I now concluded, that to discover the true path to virtue and happiness was entirely beyond the reach of my reason. I confessed my impotence and ignorance to God, acknowledged that I was like a blind man who had lost his road, and waited, in hope

that some benevolent person would pass by, and lead him in the right path. In this manner, I waited on God, in the hope that he would take me by the hand, and guide me in the way everlasting. Still, however, I could not entirely relinquish my favourite idea, of being corrected by means of punishment; and I continued to look on the divinity and atonement of Christ, as doctrines at once useless and blasphemous, though I kept this opinion to myself."

Such was the state of Dr. Vanderkemp's mind, when, in June 1791, while he was taking a pleasure sail with his wife and daughter, a water spout suddenly overtook them, and upsetting the boat, they all sunk before they even apprehended any danger. His wife and daughter were both drowned, and he himself was carried down the stream about a mile, and must likewise speedily have perished, had not a vessel lying in the harbour of Dort, been rent from its moorings by the storm, and driven out towards him, when the people on board observing a person floating on the side of the wreck, rescued him from a watery grave.

This dreadful event Dr. Vanderkemp considered as the severest punishment that could have befallen him; yet next day he clearly perceived it had no more power to amend him, than all his former trials; and hence he concluded, that his state was desperate, and that he was abandoned by God as incurable by correction. On the following Sabbath, however, he went to church. The Lord's Supper was to be administered that day, and though it was utterly inconsistent with his principles to join in commemorating the death of

one whom he considered as an impostor, yet being ashamed to withdraw from the table, he sat down among the communicants; but in order to divert his thoughts from the ordinance, he indulged in some such meditation as this: "My God, I could not acquiesce in thy dealings with me, nor submit to thy will; but now I can. I choose to be deprived of my wife and child, because it is thy will. Accept them at my hands. I trust them entirely to thee."

While he was indulging in these musings, his thoughts were insensibly directed toward Christ Jesus. "It pleased God to reveal his Son in him, that he might preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ." In the reflections of his mind, on this occasion, there appear, indeed, considerable workings of the imagination, tinged with some degree of enthusiasm; yet, of the reality of the change, not even the shadow of a doubt can remain. The fruits which followed afford the clearest and most satisfactory evidence, that he was not only no longer an infidel, but a Christian of no common order.^a

Having received a few years afterward, a copy of an address from the Missionary Society in London, to the friends of religion in Germany, it made a deep impression on his mind; and this was still further strengthened, by reading the sermons which were preached at the formation of that institution. He was particularly struck with the following quotation from Deborah's song: "Curse ye Meroz, said the angel of the Lord, curse ye bitterly the in-

^a Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 355.

habitants thereof; because they came not to the help of the Lord, to the help of the Lord against the mighty." On reading these words, he fell on his knees, and exclaimed, "Here am I, Lord Jesus. Thou knowest, I have no will of my own, since I devoted myself to thy service. Preserve me only from doing any thing, in this great work, in a carnal self-sufficient spirit, and lead me in the right way." He soon after offered himself to the Missionary Society, and made choice of South Africa as the scene of his labours; a choice in which the directors acquiesced, in deference to his wishes, though they would rather he had settled in some more civilized quarter of the world. ^b

Having come to London, he was not unemployed during his residence in that city, but eagerly directed his attention to whatever he thought might promote the success of his labours. Among other circumstances, the following is not unworthy of notice, as a proof both of his humility and his zeal. Apprehending that an acquaintance with the method of making bricks might be useful in such a country as South Africa, he employed himself for a short time in the mechanical part of that business, in the neighbourhood of London. Conduct so condescending and disinterested, ennobles the character of a man of science, such as Dr. Vanderkemp was, and reminds us of that distinguished monarch Peter the Great of Russia, who wrought *incognito*, as a shipwright in the dock-yards of Holland and England, that he might improve his own subjects in the art of naval architecture. ^c

^b Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 351, 353.

^c Memoir of Dr. Vanderkemp, p. 14.

With all his excellencies, however, Dr. Vanderkemp was by no means without his faults. He was an eccentric man, very high in his views as to some of the principles of Calvinism, and had no inconsiderable portion of enthusiasm, and a tincture of what the Apostle calls, "a voluntary humility." By his enemies he was charged with neglecting the civilization and external improvement of the Hottentots, and the charge is admitted to a considerable extent, even by his friends. Being totally ignorant of agriculture, and having in early life formed habits of study, he had no taste for the labours of the field. He even seemed to judge it necessary to imitate the savage in his manners, rather than to induce the savage to imitate him, frequently appearing in public without hat, or stockings, or shoes, and perhaps, also, without a coat. His marriage to a young slave, whose freedom he had purchased, was also a matter of deep regret, as a connexion so unequal, not only sinks a man in the eyes of the world, but tends insensibly to debase the tone of his own mind and manners. After the doctor's death, she turned out extremely ill, and even abandoned her own children, circumstances which illustrate still further, the great impropriety of a Christian missionary forming so very unequal a connexion.^d

In March 1813, the Rev. John Campbell of Kingsland, who, in consequence of the death of

^d Campbell's Travels, p. 129, 575.—Letter from R. Hamilton, Missionary in South Africa, MS.—Lichtenstein's Travels, in Southern Africa, p. 237.—Minutes of the Missionary Deputies, held in the Orphan House, Cape of Good Hope, August 1817, MS.

Dr. Vanderkemp, had been deputed by the Missionary Society, to visit their settlements in South Africa, arrived at Bethelsdorp. He was at first exceedingly disappointed in the appearance of the place. The houses were mean in the extreme, and were built apparently without any order: the ground on which they stood, was rocky and barren, without either trees or gardens, or any thing green to relieve the eye: all was one wide waste, a circumstance which contributed not a little to the gloominess of the place. On examination, it appeared that the village had originally been built on a regular plan; but many of the houses having fallen down, it was now completely deranged. When the settlement was first established, it was only on trial, and as from the extreme barrenness of the land, it was not unlikely it might be removed, the people built their houses of reeds, which, though they look well enough at first, soon decay, and assume a ruinous aspect. Besides, as many of the people were constantly in the employ of the boors, or in the service of government in different parts of the country, they had no great inducement to erect for themselves more substantial habitations. The inhabitants, as may easily be supposed, were not more refined than their houses: they had, in fact, a very rude motley appearance, most of them being still clothed in their original sheepskins.^c

After investigating the state of the settlement at Bethelsdorp, Mr. Campbell, accompanied by Mr. Read, and several of the Hottentots, proceeded into the interior of Africa, with the view of fixing

^c Campbell's Travels, p. 96, 98.—Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 33.

on new stations for other missions, and of visiting those already established. The country through which they at first travelled, though completely in a state of nature, was in many places remarkably beautiful. It was finely diversified with hills and dales, trees, and verdant grass : some parts seemed like a terrestrial paradise. After entering the Boschemen's country, they suffered much distress from want of grass and water for their cattle: it appeared a land forsaken, in a great measure, both by man and beast; and though its general aspect was charming, yet owing to the scarcity of water, it must probably remain a wilderness to the end of the world. On reaching the Orange River, they obtained a most acceptable supply of water and grass. Neither the thickets with which it was encompassed, nor the steepness of its sides, were any impediment to the cattle approaching the river: they rushed heedlessly forward till they reached it, when the rapid motion of every tail, indicated the high satisfaction of the thirsty animals. After quenching their drought, they ran to the neighbouring banks, where grew thousands of acres of tall grass which had never been touched by the hand of the mower.^f

Having crossed the Orange River, Mr. Campbell and his fellow travellers visited the missionary settlement at Griqua town, of which we shall afterwards give an account, and then proceeded on their journey to Lattakoo, a large and populous town a considerable way to the northward. After travelling about ten days, through a country almost totally

^f Campbell's Travels, p. 132, 137, 140, 146, 167, 194, 198, 203, 207.

uninhabited, they reached that place, and, as may easily be supposed, their arrival excited no small curiosity in the inhabitants, who had rarely seen a European. Matebee, the chief or king, as he is called, was then absent with a large party on a jackall hunt; but Mr. Campbell, in the meanwhile, assembled the principal men of the town, and informed them that he had come from a distant land, where the great God who made all things, was known and worshipped; that the people of that country had long ago sent missionaries to instruct the inhabitants of other parts of Africa in things calculated to render them better and happier, and that having heard the inhabitants of Lattakoo were friendly to strangers, he had come to inquire whether they also would like to have teachers sent among them. To this proposal, they could give no answer, on account of the absence of the chief. Having, therefore, waited the return of Matebee, Mr. Campbell made a similar address to him; but the king objected that the people had no time to attend to instruction; that they had to take care of their cattle, to sow, to reap, to do many other things; that what they would be taught, was contrary to their established practices, and that they would never relinquish their own customs. Mr. Campbell having endeavoured to explain more particularly the nature of his proposal, and to obviate these objections, Matebee at length gave his consent, saying: "Send instructors, and I will be a father to them." It was evident, however, he had no distinct idea of the design of the missionaries; for on another occasion, he spoke in such a manner as shewed that he imagined it was worldly

gain, or some other personal advantages they had in view, not the good of him and his people ; or, at least, that it was merely to teach them the customs of Europeans, as to some little matters of external form, not the great truths of religion.

Lattakoo appeared to contain about 1500 houses ; and the inhabitants were estimated at 7500, a large population for a town in this region of Africa. They seemed a sprightly ingenious people, compared, at least, with their neighbours in the colony, and others of the surrounding tribes. Their houses were much superior, and they even manufactured axes, knives, spears, and other similar articles from iron. It is, however, a sufficient proof of their barbarism, that it is the province of the women to dig the fields, to sow and reap, while the employment of the men is to milk the cows, make their clothes, and go to war. Even the queen, as she is called, digs the ground along with the other females.^g

Having accomplished the object of their visit to Lattakoo, Mr. Campbell and his companions proceeded in an easterly direction, to a part of the country which had never before been explored by any European traveller. After pursuing this route a considerable way, they turned to the south-west, until they again reached the Orange River, and then proceeded nearly in the direction of that stream across the continent of Africa. This, as may easily be supposed, proved a very difficult and hazardous undertaking. The sandiness of the country in some

^g Campbell's Travels, p. 218, 224, 243, 245, 248, 255, 276, 282, 290, 309.

places, and its rockiness in others, often rendered it almost impossible to get forward with the oxen and waggons, and obliged them to take a very circuitous route. During the first fortnight, they passed a number of Coranna kraals ; but after that they saw no traces of human beings, except a few Boschemen at one place, who attacked some of their company, mortally wounded one of them, and carried off the whole of their cattle, to the number of one hundred and eighteen. Being now in the midst of a vast wilderness, far distant from all human help, with three waggons and not a single ox to draw them, their situation was truly alarming. They, however, despatched a party of Hottentots in pursuit of the robbers, and after putting themselves in a posture of defence, they had recourse to prayer, the best and most effectual refuge of man in the day of trouble. Happily, about three o'clock in the morning, they beheld a cloud of dust moving toward them, and by the light of the moon, they soon discovered it was their cattle. The Boschemen it seems had fled, and the oxen were fortunately recovered without further bloodshed.^h

After proceeding towards the mouth of the Orange River, Mr. Campbell and his fellow travellers directed their course southwards to Capetown. Here they had to travel across a vast sandy desert, where they and their cattle again suffered greatly for want of water and grass. In whatever direction they turned their eye, nothing was to be seen but the symptoms of sterility and drought: the hills appear-

^h Campbell's Travels, p. 368, 389, 396, 403, 407. Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 62.

ed of a brown burnt colour, the plains consisted of sand, strewed with tufts of withered grass. The howling of the oxen, and the howling of the dogs for water, were truly distressing: but in such circumstances there is no alternative, but either to push forward to the nearest fountain, or to perish in the desert. The oxen had now dragged the waggons through deep sand for about ninety miles, and notwithstanding their toil had been so great, none of them had tasted water for at least thirty-eight hours; but at length such as were loose set off at the gallop, toward a place among the neighbouring hills. It seems they had smelled water in that quarter, but on reaching it they could find none above the ground. They now stood snuffing the air in every direction for the space of a minute, after which they again set off at full speed to another place. Here they were not disappointed, for they came to what is called Quick Fountain, consisting of two pools of water. They all rushed with one accord into the pools; the sheep and dogs which arrived nearly at the same instant, passed under the bellies of the oxen, and all drank together, at least as many as the place could hold. Such as could not gain admission, ran with violence against those which were standing in the water, until they reached it with their mouths. Several went away twice as if they had been satisfied; but they soon returned again to drink. It was extremely difficult to detain the oxen in the waggons till their yokes were taken off; and no sooner were they at liberty, than every one rushed to the water, without waiting for his fellow. Having obtained this seasonable refreshment for their cattle, our travellers proceeded on their journey, and after encountering

various other difficulties, they reached Capetown in safety. Mr. Campbell embarked soon after for England, and Mr. Read returned with the Hottentots to Bethelsdorp.ⁱ

In October 1814, soon after Mr. Read's return to Bethelsdorp, an extraordinary awakening, it is said, began among the inhabitants of that settlement. For a considerable time past, religion had been in a languishing state, or at least had made no very sensible progress. Now the scene is represented as greatly altered. In the public assemblies, the people were often unable to suppress their feelings: they burst into tears, and cried out in the midst of the service: the voice of the speaker was sometimes completely drowned by their sobs and cries. Such numbers crowded to the houses of the missionaries to converse with them about their souls, that Mr. Read and his fellow labourers, had scarcely time to take their necessary food: at other times the neighbouring fields might be seen covered with people, pouring out their hearts to God in prayer. This awakening extended to the young as well as to the old: some were impressed almost every day. In the course of twelve months, upwards of three hundred souls were added to the church.^k

We should rejoice to think that the whole of these were genuine converts to Christ; but we fear that in many instances, the awakening extended no further than the passions of the people, that in some cases it might even be produced by sympathy, as

ⁱ Campbell's Travels, p. 415, 441, 445, 486, 510.

^k Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 182, 185, 188.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxiii. p. 428. vol. xxiv. p. 77.

nothing is more contagious than feeling, whether excited in the church or in the theatre, and that in others it might even be merely affected, as some might not choose to be thought behind their neighbours. In awakenings of this kind, where mental feelings and bodily agitations have such a striking predominance, we acknowledge we feel a more than ordinary jealousy, lest they should be substituted for conviction and conversion, and the simple movements of nature be mistaken for the operations of the Holy Spirit on the heart. It is stated, indeed, on authority which we cannot question, that at Bethelsdorp baptism was administered without due discrimination and trial; that children of seven, eight, and nine years of age, were admitted to the Lord's table, and gave occasion to scenes which must have been revolting to every well regulated mind. Great disorders of various kinds appear to have prevailed in that settlement.¹

In January 1819, the whole number of persons baptized by the missionaries, since the commencement of the institution, was nearly as follows :

Adults,	612
Children,	473

Total, 1085

Most of these had been received since the period of Mr. Campbell's visit : at that time the whole number of persons who had been baptized amounted to 200, and of these only 87 were adults. But

¹ Minutes of the Missionary Deputies, held in the Orphan House, Cape of Good Hope, August, 1817. MS.

though the number of the baptized was now so considerable, the persons in full communion with the church, was only about 200, a circumstance which corroborates the apprehensions we have just expressed. The total number of people connected with the institution, including absentees, was sometime before 1170. The proportion who were absent in the employ of government, or in the service of the farmers, and the other inhabitants of the colony, was commonly very considerable. Some of these would be away only two or three weeks, others as many months, or even years, so that their instruction proceeded in a very irregular manner.^m

As the Hottentots were extremely indolent, it was early a maxim with the missionaries to teach them the necessity of industry, by permitting them to feel the miseries of want, and to give them nothing but what they earned by their own labour, except such as through age or sickness were unable to work. This produced by degrees the most beneficial effects, as was evident in the improved habits of the people, and the vast increase of their wealth. They possessed large herds of cattle, sheep and goats, besides great numbers of pigs and poultry. The ground in the immediate neighbourhood of the settlement was extremely barren, but they had cultivated the fields at some distance for upwards of two miles on both sides of the river, an extent of arable land rarely met with in South Africa. They had also a number of gardens planted with fruit trees,

^m Evan. Mag. vol. xxiv. p. 195; vol. xxv. p. 417; vol. xxviii. p. 125.—Miss. Trans. vol. v. p. 253, 377.—Campbell's Travels, p. 115.

and surrounded by walls. Among them, there were many different trades, but most of these were still in their infancy. By some of these the Hottentots gained considerable sums of money, particularly by hewing timber in the neighbourhood, which was sent to Capetown, and other parts of the colony. Many of the women assisted their husbands in making matts, baskets, blankets of sheep skins, and other operations. Others were employed in knitting stockings, and in sewing shirts for sale.

But though many of the inhabitants had acquired in some degree the spirit of industry, not a few of them were still disposed to idleness and sloth. If, however, we consider their early habits, this will be no cause of wonder. Such of the Hottentots as are brought up in the families of the boors, have so many fellow servants, and there is so little work to do, that a very small proportion falls to the lot of each individual. Those who have always lived in their native kraals, are still more habituated to idleness, than even they who are reared in the service of the boors. Being thus accustomed to a life of indolence from their very childhood, it is no easy task to form them to habits of industry in their riper years. Their wants in fact are so few that they feel no excitement to exertion. They are perfectly satisfied with the meanest fare, if they have only enough to satisfy the cravings of nature: they desire no greater luxury in dress than a dirty sheepskin; and they can sleep on the bare ground or under any bush as contentedly, as a European on his bed of down.ⁿ

ⁿ Campbell's Travels, p. 97, 117, 126.—Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 293.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxiv. p. 158, 195; vol. xxv. p. 417.

ARTICLE II.

ZAK RIVER.

IN May 1799, Messrs. Kicherer and Edwards left Capetown, with the view of proceeding to Zak River, a small brook about four or five hundred miles to the north-east of that place. In the course of their journey, they experienced much kindness from the colonists, who not only treated them with the utmost hospitality, but furnished them with oxen for their waggons, and made them many other valuable presents. Having, at length, arrived at Zak River, they fixed on a spot for a settlement, which they called Happy Prospect Fountain. It was near two fine springs of water, and there was a good piece of ground for cultivation; but the surrounding country was barren, and the inhabitants few in number. Here the missionaries immediately began to prepare a plot for a garden, and to build themselves a hut of reeds, these being the best materials they could find, as not a tree grew in the country.^a

It may not be improper to introduce in this place some account of the Boschemen, among whom the missionaries were now settled. They have no idea of the Supreme Being, and consequently they prac-

^a Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 2, 5.

tise no kind of worship. They have, however, a superstitious reverence for a little insect, known by the name of the Creeping-leaf, a sight of which, they conceive, indicates something fortunate, and to kill it, they suppose, will bring a curse upon the perpetrator. They have also some notion of an evil spirit, which they imagine produces mischief, particularly the diseases which they suffer; and in order to counteract his malicious purposes, they employ a certain description of men to blow, and make a humming noise over the sick, a practice which they sometimes continue for many hours together.

Their manner of life is extremely wretched and disgusting. They delight to smear their bodies with the fat of animals, mixed with a certain kind of powder, which gives them a glossy appearance. They are utter strangers to cleanliness, as they never wash their bodies; they even allow the dirt to accumulate to such a degree, that sometimes it hangs a considerable way from their elbows. Nothing can exceed their desire of tobacco. They are so much addicted to smoking, that the women and children, as well as the men, would rather suffer hunger than want this noxious herb. They form their huts, by digging a hole in the earth about three feet deep, and then covering it with reeds, which are not, however, sufficient to keep out the rain. Here they lie close together, like so many pigs in a sty. They are extremely lazy, so that nothing will rouse them to action but excessive hunger. They will continue several days together without food, rather than be at the pains to seek it. When constrained to sally forth in quest of prey

they **are** extremely dexterous in destroying the various kinds of animals which abound in the country. The wild beasts they shoot with poisoned darts. They extract the poison from the jaw-bone of the serpent, and insert it in the point of their arrow **on** harping iron. They then creep behind the small bushes, where they conceal themselves and attack the beast, at about the distance of a hundred steps. If the dart wounds it in the slightest degree, they **are** sure of their prey. Sometimes the animal falls **down** dead immediately; in other cases, it flies, which **obliges** them to pursue it. Having at length taken **it**, they cut out the wounded part, and eat the **rest** of the carcass without injury. When they are on these hunting expeditions, it is said they can run **for** several days together, and are able to hold out as well as a horse. If, however, they are unsuccessful in the chase, they make a shift to live upon **snakes**, mice, and such other creatures as they can find, however loathsome they may be. There are also some spontaneous productions of the earth, of the bulbous kind, which they eat, particularly the **cameron**, which is as large as a child's head, and the **baroo**, which is about the size of an apple. In general, however, they are no great admirers of vegetable food.

The Boschemen are total strangers to domestic happiness. Polygamy is common among them, and, as might be expected, conjugal affection is little known. They take no great care of their children, and it is said they never correct them, except in a fit of anger, when they almost kill them by their severity. In a quarrel between a father and mother, or between the several wives of the same man,

the defeated party takes revenge on the child of the conqueror, which, in general, loses its life. It is even not uncommon for the Boschemen to murder their children, when they are in want of food, when they are obliged to flee from the farmers or other enemies, when the infant is ill-shaped, or when the father has forsaken its mother. In these cases, they will strangle them, smother them, cast them away in the desert, or bury them alive. There are even instances of parents throwing their tender offspring to the hungry lion, who stands roaring before their cavern, refusing to depart till some peace-offering is presented to him. In general, the children cease to be the object of their mother's care, as soon as they are able to crawl about the fields. They go out in the morning, and when they return in the evening, an old sheep's skin to lie upon, and a little milk, or piece of meat, are all they have to expect. In some few instances, however, you meet with a spark of natural affection, which places these savages on a level with the brute creation.

As the Boschemen are so unnatural to their offspring, it is not wonderful though they treat their aged relations with indifference and neglect. When removing from place to place for the purpose of hunting, they frequently forsake their old friends in the desert. In these cases, they leave them a piece of meat, and an ostrich egg-shell full of water. As soon as this little stock is exhausted, the poor deserted creatures must perish of hunger, or become the prey of wild beasts.^b

^b Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 6, 13.—Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 221.

Many of the Boschemen live by plunder and murder, and are guilty of the most atrocious crimes. Such, indeed, is the horror and detestation with which they are viewed in the country, that a colonist thinks he cannot proclaim a more meritorious action, than the murder of these wretched people. A boor from Graaf Reinet being asked, in the secretary's office at Capetown, if the savages were numerous or troublesome upon the road, replied, with as much composure and indifference as if he had been speaking of so many partridges, that he had shot only four. Mr. Barrow heard one of the colonists boast of having destroyed, with his own hands, near three hundred of these unfortunate beings.^c

Such were the people among whom Providence had called the missionaries to labour. The number of Boschemen who came to them now increased considerably; and it was not long before they afforded them considerable encouragement in their work. Mr. Kicherer often felt inexpressibly happy, when setting forth to these poor perishing creatures, the infinite grace of the Redeemer. Frequently he began his work sighing, and concluded it rejoicing. It was very affecting to observe, how amazed they were when he told them of a God, and of the resurrection of the dead. They knew not how to express their astonishment in language sufficiently strong, that they should have lived so long without ever having thought of the Supreme Being. Sometimes, the impression which his addresses made upon

^c Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 8.—Barrow's Travels in Southern Africa, vol. i. p. 85.

them was so great, that it appeared as if there could be no doubt of success; at other times, the natural inconstancy of the savages seemed to reverse every promising symptom.^d

Many of the Boschemen now began to pray, and in their prayers, they discovered much of the simplicity that is natural to untutored minds: "O Lord Jesus Christ," they would say, "thou hast made the sun, the moon, the hills, the rivers, the bushes, therefore thou hast power also to change my heart: O be pleased to make it entirely new!" Some declared, that they had not been able to sleep all night for sorrow on account of their sins, and that they had been forced to rise and pray. Others said, that on their hunting expeditions, they had felt a sudden impulse to prostrate themselves before the Lord, and to ask for a new heart. But though many of them now seemed to pray to God, there was reason to doubt the sincerity of some of them, as there was no suitable change in their lives, but instead of this, much Pharisaical ostentation, mechanical profession, and interested views; for some of them seemed to pray with no other design than to obtain a piece of tobacco.

There were several, however, who discovered some tokens of a work of grace in their hearts; they not only expressed themselves in an experimental manner, but manifested a visible change in their external conduct. One of them, named Baasjee, often exclaimed, "O that I might be so happy as to know the Lord Jesus!" When asked his reason for this, he replied, with much simplicity, "Why

^d Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 9, 11.

should I not, when I am so afraid of the great fire. If I put my finger into the ashes only, I feel most exquisite pain : What then must it be to suffer everlasting burnings ? But to have the Lord Jesus for my friend, and the blessed heaven you describe, who would not long for that ?” His wife Antjee appeared no less promising. She never neglected the meetings of the congregation ; and besides joining in prayer three times a-day, she used to retire to solitary places for the same sacred exercise. The Captain Abraham likewise often withdrew to pray for a new heart, and though he did not speak much, yet the missionaries could not but entertain a favourable opinion of him. ^c

When the missionaries first entered on their work, they laboured to convince their hearers by arguments addressed to their understandings, but their endeavours in this way were attended with little success. The savages continually raised objections to what was said, and it was often no easy matter to answer them to their satisfaction. The missionaries then had recourse to that method, which, in the days of the Apostle Paul, as well as in modern ages, has been found the most effectual mean of converting the Heathen. They insisted chiefly on the dying love of Christ in a simple and affectionate manner ; they represented him as an all-sufficient Saviour for lost and helpless sinners ; they earnestly invited them to come to him, that they might be saved. After they adopted this method, their labours were attended with remarkable success. From time to time, numbers of their hear-

^c Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 329 ; vol. ii. p. 8.

ers, who before were impenetrable as a rock, came to them, and with tears in their eyes, declared, that they now perceived more and more the truth and excellency of the gospel, which they found to be the power of God to their salvation. This was particularly the case with the Hottentots who attended upon their ministrations. ^f

It is also worthy of notice, that, about this time, Mr. Kicherer was, in a peculiar manner, impressed with the necessity and importance of prayer. He was often enabled to bend his knees, with his little flock, before Him who had promised to take the Heathen for his inheritance, and to wrestle with him for a blessing on his labours. Frequently, the more dark and gloomy the prospect was, the more abundantly was the spirit of supplication poured out upon him. He felt a happy freedom in pleading the promises of the Redeemer, in relying upon his faithfulness to fulfil them, and in commending the poor savages to his compassion and love. ^g

As the Boschemen now flocked to them in considerable numbers, the missionaries were obliged, for the sake of distinguishing one from another, to give them names, which they wrote with chalk on their backs: accordingly, when any one approached them, the first thing he did was to shew them his shoulders. Besides instructing them in the principles of religion, the missionaries endeavoured to excite a spirit of industry among them, and for this purpose they gave them little presents; to the men tobacco, to the women handkerchiefs, and dried fruit to the children. Mr. Kicherer's own garden

^f Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 12.

^g Ibid. vol. ii. p. 9.

now began to assume a flourishing aspect, and promised soon to enable him to supply at least twenty guests; but the Boschemen, as we have already mentioned, have no great relish for vegetables. Indeed, they would scarcely eat them at all, unless he saved them the trouble of cooking them, and took them to their huts ready for use.^h

In January 1800, Mr. Kicherer found it necessary to take a journey to Capetown, for the purpose of procuring supplies for his people, particularly clothes. A number of the Boschemen, who had never been at the Cape, offered to accompany him; a circumstance which afforded him great satisfaction, as it was a proof, that the suspicions they had at first entertained of him and his companions were declining, and that they felt an increasing confidence in them. They travelled agreeably, though slowly, the whole company, both old and young, being obliged to walk the whole way. After a journey of about a month, they reached Capetown; but as they approached that place, the feelings of the Boschemen were widely different from those of Mr. Kicherer. He anticipated, with delight, the pleasing scenes before him; they were struck with terror and dismay. Some of the first objects which presented themselves to their view, were several malefactors hung in chains for their crimes; and many of the Boschemen were conscious that they deserved a similar punishment. A few days after, their terror was still further increased, by beholding the execution of another criminal. Mr. Kicherer embraced this opportunity of

^h Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 11, 13.

explaining to them the nature and excellence of the European system of justice, which appointed civil governors for the punishment of evil-doers, and the reward of the good. By this they were pacified: they allowed the propriety of the thing, and said, it would be happy for them, if a similar order could be established among them.

Soon after his arrival at Capetown, Mr. Kicherer was called to preach in the Calvinist church, a very capacious building, and crowded with a very genteel audience. His Boschemen, who accompanied him, were much struck with the sight of so great a number of well-dressed people, whom, in their simplicity, they compared to a nest of ants; and the sound of the organ was, at first, mistaken by them for the humming noise of a bee-hive. From that time, they entertained a higher idea of their minister; for before, they had been tempted to consider him as a beggarly fellow, who had come among them merely to obtain a livelihood. He embraced every proper opportunity of introducing them into Christian company and religious meetings. From this they derived much advantage, being thereby convinced of two things, namely, that the doctrine he preached to them was agreeable to the common creed of Christians; and that Christians, in general, were much happier than Boschemen.ⁱ

After his return to Zak River, Mr. Kicherer received an invitation to be minister at the Pearl, a village near Capetown, with a handsome church. His mind was greatly perplexed with respect to

ⁱ Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 13.

this, as he knew not whether he should consider it as a temptation to divert him from his labours among the Heathen, or as a call from God to a more useful situation. Having had recourse to prayer, and besought the Lord to direct him in the path of duty, he soon recovered his usual composure, and, from certain providential circumstances, he was led to conclude, that it was not the will of God, he should remove to the Pearl. From that very time, the Lord condescended to bless his labours in a remarkable manner, so that many of the people, whose hearts had previously been harder than the rocks among which they lived, began to cry out, “What must we do to be saved?” Frequently, the hills literally resounded with their loud complaints.^k

We might give many examples of the power of religion among these wretched people; but we shall at present notice only the case of the old Bastard Hottentot John. For some time past, he had felt a strong inclination to come and hear the word of God. From this design, some of the neighbouring farmers endeavoured to dissuade him, telling him that the missionaries would either sell or kill him. But notwithstanding these base insinuations, he came and heard the word; and though he had formerly been an atrocious offender, he had not sat many days under the sound of the gospel, when he began to cry aloud under a painful sense of his sins, which he compared for number to the sands of the desert. After mourning for some time on account of his transgressions, he began to speak of

^k Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 17.

the love of Christ to sinners in general, and to himself in particular. This was now his favourite topic all the day long; and, as he spake of it, his eyes overflowed with tears of love, and gratitude, and joy. His heart was so entirely engrossed with divine things, that he could scarcely bear to talk on any other subject. When business of a worldly nature was mentioned to him, he would say, "O! I have spoken too much about the world; let me now talk of Christ." Indeed, he did speak of him in a manner truly surprising; and, which shewed that he was eminently taught of God. In the meanwhile, his walk and conversation were such as corresponded with his Christian profession. When in a state of Heathenism, he had married four wives, and he had still two at the time of his coming to hear the gospel. One day, he came to Mr. Kicherer, and said, He must put away his two wives: And on being asked the reason of this, he answered, "Because when I go to God in prayer, my heart tells me it is bad; and Christ is nearer to me than ten thousand wives. I will support them; I will work for them; and I will stay till God change their hearts: Then I will take the first whose heart is changed." After a short period, it pleased the Lord to visit him with a disorder from which he never recovered. Still, however, he insisted on being carried to the place of worship, saying, that as long as he could hear, he would endeavour to catch some of the words of life. Two days before his death, when Mr. Kicherer asked him how he felt, he replied, "A little low-spirited; for though I am certain, that I have surrendered my whole self to Christ, from the moment

I first saw his loveliness, yet I am not so sure at present that he has accepted of the offer." Mr. Kicherer endeavoured to satisfy him on this head; but the dying man found no comfort till the day of his departure, when he said to his beloved teacher, "I now see that the Lord Jesus hath loved me with an everlasting love; that he has accepted of me; and that he will be my portion for ever; and now, though I am the vilest sinner on earth, yet relying on his blood and righteousness, I will die and go to Christ."¹

The residence of the missionaries among this barbarous people, was not without its difficulties and dangers. About this time, several farmers having assembled at Zak River to partake of the Lord's Supper, a runaway slave made his appearance in the settlement. They soon discovered who he was, and thought of sending him back to his master, agreeably to an order of government. Having learned their intention, the fellow determined to be revenged upon them, and, while they were at worship in the church, contrived to poison the well. Their lives would certainly have fallen a sacrifice to his villany, had not a little girl providentially observed him commit the atrocious act. Having received timely notice of this circumstance, they examined the fellow, and found in his clothes the remainder of the poison, which was a species of moss, resembling human hair, and which has the property of constricting and convulsing the bowels. The culprit was sent to Capetown, and they united in returning thanks to God for this merciful deliverance.

¹ Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 17.

On another occasion, as Mr. Kicherer was, one evening, sitting near an open window, a party of Boschemen, who had concealed themselves in the neighbourhood, were just about to discharge a volley of poisoned arrows at him ; but being detected by another young girl, they made off in haste, and thus he was again mercifully preserved.

We may also mention another remarkable deliverance which Mr. Kicherer experienced, from the hands of a person who came to their house, under the fictitious name of Stephanos, a Greek by birth, and who, for making base coin at Capetown, had been sentenced to death, but effected his escape from justice, a few days previous to that which was fixed for his execution. The rumour of this affair, had reached Mr. Kicherer, and when the fellow came to his house, in the absence of the other missionaries, Kramer and Scholtz, who were gone six days' journey with presents of tobacco, to invite more of the Boschemen to come and hear the gospel, he thought, that in his countenance he perceived tokens of guilt. But his conversation was so religious, and his professions, that he came to assist them in building a chapel, so plausible, that Mr. Kicherer blamed himself for harbouring any suspicion, and therefore permitted him to sleep in the room next his own. It would seem the wretch had formed a scheme to murder him, that he might seize on his waggon and goods, and then fly to a distant horde. In the night he actually approached his bed, but, at that moment, Mr. Kicherer happened to awake, in a fit of terror, and cried out as if he had been privy to his bloody design. The villain was disconcerted, stammered an apology of a pain in his bowels, and

then went out of the house. In the morning, Mr. Kicherer found he had fled, and that he had not only stolen his gun, but taken with him many of the Boschemen, whom he had seduced, by pretending that the White people were coming to be revenged upon them, a suspicion which is easily infused into the guilty conscience of these savages. The Hottentots having pursued them, overtook them in the desert, and compelled Stephanos to restore the fowling-piece, and dismiss the Boschemen. He was now left to pursue his journey alone; but, unfortunately, he was met by the missionaries Kramer and Scholtz, who obliged him to return with them to Zak River; a circumstance which involved Mr. Kicherer in fresh difficulties, as he was now certain that this was the identical malefactor who had broken from prison at the Cape. He begged them, however, to keep the wretch concealed at a distance from their premises, with the view of allowing him to make his escape; and in the night he met him, gave him his best advice, together with some provisions, and a Bible, and suffered him to go away to the Orange River, where under the mask of religion, he practised the grossest impositions on a horde of Bastard Hottentots, and was guilty of new crimes.^m

In May 1801, the whole congregation removed from Zak River to the Orange River, in consequence of an invitation which the missionaries had received from the Corannas in that part of the country, to come and preach the gospel among them. Here they soon found themselves surrounded by crowds of different people, Corannas, Namaquas, Hotten-

^m Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 20, 30.

tots, Bastard Hottentots, and Boschemen, together with their numerous flocks and herds. The Corannas and Namaquas were servants to the Bastards, having been reduced to this abject condition by the depredations of a monster, known by the name of Africaner, a Bastard Hottentot. This bloody wretch, after murdering his master, collected a band of robbers, with whom he made incursions into the Coranna and Namaqua country. Some of these poor people sent him a message, requesting him to restore a small part of their property, a cow for instance, to each family, that they might have a little milk for their starving children. The villain promised to comply with their request, on condition that they would cross the river and take back the animals; but when they came, he treacherously seized them, tied them to the trees, cut out their tongues, or otherwise maimed them, and even shot some of them dead. Being thus reduced to extreme distress, they were glad, for the sake of subsistence, to serve the Bastards, who treated them with great severity, flogging and abusing them like slaves, and allowing them little more for their support than the milk of the sheep which they kept. All these people expressed great joy at the arrival of the missionaries among them, particularly the poor oppressed Corannas and Namaquas, who looked up to them as a kind of friends and protectors.ⁿ

Here the labours of the missionaries appeared to be attended with remarkable success. The people manifested an ardent desire to learn the things which belonged to their everlasting peace; many

ⁿ Miss. Trans. vol. ii p. 23, 27.

of them were brought under deep convictions of their sinfulness and misery; and though these did not always issue in sound conversion, yet there was reason to hope that this was the case in several instances. °

A man named Cornelius Koopman, who joined the congregation on their way to the Orange River, had not been with them more than a single day, when he was impressed with convictions of his sinfulness and misery. When Mr. Kicherer first saw him, there appeared so much pride in his carriage, that he formed a very unfavourable opinion of him; but no sooner was his heart touched by divine grace, than the lion was changed into a lamb; the haughtiness of his deportment entirely forsook him; and he appeared clothed with humility as with a garment. Mr. Kicherer had many conversations with him, and was highly delighted with the piety of his sentiments: "Ah!" he would say, "how happy would I think myself were I assured that Jesus is my Saviour; there would not be a more blessed creature on earth than myself. Here, I am so poor, that frequently I know not how to provide for my family; I would gladly clothe my children, were it only in sheep-skins, but alas! I have no supplies, for my little flock is all gone. Yet I had rather starve here, where Jesus Christ is preached, than return to serve those Christians who never told me a word of God, or of Christ, or of the way of salvation." After he had surrendered himself to the Lord, his whole walk and conversation manifested

° Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 28.

the sincerity of his profession, and he was a pattern of godliness to all the congregation. Every day he would walk several times, into the solitude of the wilderness, to hold communion with God in prayer. Many a time Mr. Kicherer watched him at a distance, wrestling with God, and was made to blush by his importunity. It was also his custom, about sunset, to take with him two of his children, whom he tenderly loved, to a solitary spot, that they might be present at his devotions. Here, indeed, we may observe in general, that Mr. Kicherer, when sitting by himself on some eminence, had often the pleasure to observe some of his poor people, one here, behind a rock, another there, under a bush, earnestly engaged in secret prayer; a circumstance which did not fail to cheer and animate him under all his trials. ^p

During his stay in this part of the country, Mr. Kicherer was more than once in imminent danger of his life, from the wild beasts of the desert. One night before their house was built, as he and Mr. Scholtz were sleeping with their Hottentots by the side of a little cart, he was so much disturbed by the barking of his spaniel dog, that he was perfectly teased with him. The Hottentots, however, understanding the little creature's meaning better than he did, looked carefully around the place, and soon discovered a lion near them, who like a cat was creeping along the ground, in order to spring at them. They immediately snatched up their guns to fire at him; but the animal finding they were so well prepared, turned his tail and re-

^p Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 24.

treated with the utmost speed. As the two missionaries lay nearest the spot from whence the lion approached, they were, of course, in the greatest danger, and felt peculiarly thankful to Providence for this new deliverance.^a

On another occasion, when Mr. Kicherer was returning home, attended only by one Hottentot, he was once obliged to sleep in the open field. About midnight, their horses, which were fastened near them, began to be very unruly, and by the noise, awakened both of them out of their sleep. The Hottentot was much alarmed, but seemed desirous of concealing from Mr. Kicherer the cause of the disturbance, with the view of keeping him easy. On being closely interrogated, however, he acknowledged that he saw a lion at the distance of twenty or thirty yards. Mr. Kicherer soon perceived a pair of eyes shining like two burning candles. Having struck a light, and set the grass in a blaze, they discovered a huge animal with his mane erect, just in the very act of springing upon them. At this critical moment, the Hottentot fired his piece, and the lion slunk away. This circumstance was the more extraordinary, as they were able, next morning, to trace his bloody footsteps on the ground, a certain proof of his having been wounded, in which case, a lion seldom retreats till he has taken revenge on his assailants. On their return home, they learned from their friends, that during their absence a lion had destroyed eighteen of their oxen.^r

In March 1802, Messrs. Kicherer and Scholtz, finding that the land at the Orange River, was not

^a Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 26.

^r Ibid. vol. ii. p. 29.

sufficient for the support of the numerous cattle of the congregation, began to remove to Zak River with part of the people, while Messrs. Anderson and Kramer remained with the rest in that quarter of the country. The Orange River being then low, they embraced this opportunity of crossing it; but as they could not, at that time, pass the desert, they erected sheds of branches, as a temporary residence, till they should be able to pursue their journey. Some Boschemen belonging to the country about Zak River, having given them information that considerable rain had fallen in the wilderness, a circumstance which alone could enable them to pass it, they broke up their encampment, and commenced their journey. They had not, however, proceeded far, when they were convinced that the savages had deceived them. They travelled till the third day, without finding a drop of water. The cattle then began to be in the utmost distress; their looks indicated extreme anguish, and their piteous lowing seemed to forebode the destruction of the whole party in the wilderness. Our travellers at length found a small pool of water, sufficient to assuage their own thirst, but not that of their cattle. A girl was just going to drink, when, to their great mortification, they perceived that it had been poisoned by the Boschemen, a circumstance which could not fail to aggravate their distress. Mr. Kicherer now deliberated in his own mind, whether he should not call the people together for prayer, to implore of God a supply of rain; but, on weighing the matter fully, he resolved to unite privately with Mr. Scholtz in supplicating help in this time of need. Nor were their prayers in vain. He who had already,

in many instances, heard the voice of their petitions, again listened to their cry, and in the course of a few hours, granted them such plentiful showers as put a period to their distress. ^s

Having stopped two days at this place to recruit their cattle, they prepared for their departure; but that very morning, one of their cows came home with an arrow sticking in her flank, a sign that the Boschemen had driven away part of the herd. In these cases, the savages oblige the animals to run as fast as they can; and when any of them are unable to keep up with the rest, they pierce it with a dart, in consequence of which it commonly falls down on the road, and the carcass is afterwards carried away by the robbers. The cow which now returned had been treated in this manner, and served as a messenger to apprise our travellers of what had happened. Mr. Kicherer despatched some Hottentots with fire-arms, in pursuit of the banditti; and in the meanwhile travelled on with the remainder of the people. The pursuers fell in with the robbers, at the distance of a day's journey beyond the hills, and having recovered the property, returned to their friends with seventy-three out of eighty oxen which had been stolen. ^t

Leaving the congregation under the care of his assistant Scholtz, Mr. Kicherer hastened forward to the residence of the nearest farmers, partly that he might gratify his extreme longing for a morsel of bread, as he had not tasted any for six months together. He proceeded with all possible despatch, in company with three of the most serious of his people,

^s Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 33. ^t Ibid. vol. ii. p. 35.

whose conversation on the road was singularly pleasant and spiritual, which rendered these hours some of the happiest he ever spent. Having at length come within sight of the first farmer's house, his joy on approaching it was inexpressible. His first request was for a piece of bread, which he immediately devoured with the keenest appetite, and with a relish which it is not easy for a person to conceive, who never experienced the want of it for so long a period. He soon after arrived at Zak River, and rejoiced exceedingly when he again beheld the favoured spot, where he had witnessed so many instances of the power and grace of the Redeemer. The whole number of persons who collected to this place was about six hundred, of whom eighty-three were baptized, including men, women, and children. Besides labouring to convert them to Christianity, the missionaries were anxious to form them to habits of industry; but in this they were only partially successful. ^u

In January 1803, Mr. Kicherer took leave of his congregation at Zak River, with the view of visiting Europe, partly for the restoration of his health, which was considerably impaired, and partly to settle some important domestic concerns. His parting with them was very affecting. The poor people wept bitterly, and expressed their apprehension that it was on account of their guilt, and because they had not sufficiently prized his labours, that they were now to be deprived of them. Laying hold on his hands, they declared they could not let him go: They said they would pray to God to bring

^u Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 35.

him **back** soon ; they thought they would die if he did **not** return.^v

In **his** voyage to Europe, Mr. Kicherer was accompanied by three of the converted Hottentots, a man **named** John, and two women called Mary and Martha. On arriving in England, the Hottentots were **not** only introduced to many distinguished characters, who were pleased to express the highest satisfaction with the progress they appeared to have made **in** civilization, but they were examined concerning their views of religion, in the presence of numerous congregations, and afforded serious people, of all denominations, the greatest delight, by the simplicity and propriety of their answers. On one of these occasions, Mary is said to have addressed the audience in the following animated and affectionate strain : “ What pity it is, what sin it is, that you have so many years got that heavenly bread, and hold it for yourselves, not to give one little bit, one crumb to poor Heathen ! There are so many millions of Heathen, and you have so much bread ; and you might depend upon it, you should not have less because you give ; but the Lord Jesus would give his blessing, and you should have the more. You must not think when you do something for the poor Heathen, you shall have less for yourselves : on the contrary, the Lord Jesus is a fountain always full ; thousands after thousands might be helped by him ; he is always the same, yesterday, to-day, and for ever. The more you do for others, the more you shall be blessed,—the more you shall have for your own souls. I thank every person who does

^v Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 47.

something for missionary work, or who prays for it; and I hope every one will go on to spread the gospel. As the Lord Jesus was so good as to wear a crown of prickles for us, for our sins, let us work more and more in the dust at his feet, to put on his head a crown of glory.”^w

In October 1804, Mr. Kicherer accompanied by the three Hottentots, and several other missionaries, sailed for South Africa. Having arrived in safety at Capetown, he set out for Zak River, the scene of his former labours; and on the way, he met Mr. Botma, a pious man, to whose care he had committed the congregation during his visit to Europe. From him he received the painful intelligence, that many of the people had been obliged to leave the settlement on account of the excessive drought which had now prevailed for about three years, and which rendered it impracticable for them to procure sustenance for themselves and their cattle.^x

After Mr. Kicherer's arrival at Zak River, the congregation continued to suffer much distress from the continuance of the drought, the barrenness of the soil, and the frequent plunderings of the Boschemen. Many of them had already been obliged to take refuge in a different part of the country, and the rest seemed ready to perish for want of the necessaries of life. Mr. Kicherer and his new assistant, Mr. Vos, used their utmost endeavours to keep the congregation at this place, but all their efforts were in vain. Their prospects became every day darker and darker. Neither cattle nor corn

^w Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. v.—Evan. Mag. vol. xi. p. 545, 591; vol. xii. p. 92, 94.

^x Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 176.—Evan. Mag. vol. xiv. p. 565.

was to be purchased at any price, partly on account of the scarcity which prevailed throughout the whole country, and partly because they were afraid to send for the articles they needed, for fear of being plundered by the Boschemen, who had already murdered two of the baptized Hottentots.^y

Such was the melancholy situation of the congregation at Zak River, when Mr. Kicherer was appointed by Sir David Baird, the British commander, to the church of Graaf Reinet, a charge which he now accepted, though he had previously declined repeated offers of the same kind. Perceiving that it was vain to struggle longer with the difficulties of their situation, such of the people as still remained resolved to follow him for a season to that place, as this seemed to afford them the only prospect of deliverance.^z

In August 1806, the remains of the congregation left Zak River, under the care of Mr. Vos; and on their arrival at Graaf Reinet, the greater part of them were placed as servants or labourers in the families in the neighbourhood, or they lived in the village itself, by which means they not only improved in industry, but still enjoyed the means of religious instruction. Here Mr. Kicherer preached the gospel, not only to the Dutch settlers in the town, and the surrounding country, but also to many of the Hottentots.^a

^y Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 159.

^z Evan. Mag. vol. xiv. p. 330.—Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 17, 36, 159.

^a Rep. Miss. Soc. 1808, p. 18.—Ibid. 1809, p. 13.—Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 160, 412.—Evan. Mag. vol. xix. p. 314.

ARTICLE III.

GRIQUA TOWN.

IN March 1801, Mr. William Anderson, who had lately arrived at Zak River, set off for the Orange River, with the view of making known the gospel in that part of the country. He was accompanied by a number of Bastard Hottentots, and, as we have already mentioned, he was followed by the other missionaries and the whole congregation a few weeks after. * The journey was not without danger, on account of the wandering Boschemen, who infested the country. One evening, Mr. Anderson and his party were surrounded by a number of these savages armed with bows and arrows, who followed them a considerable way, and remained in the same place with them at night; but, next morning, they departed without doing them any mischief. Our travellers had shot two wild horses the day before, and, by this means, were able to supply the poor creatures with victuals, a circumstance which probably conciliated their friendship. After their arrival at the Orange River, they were frequently visited by others of that wandering tribe; and, one evening, a little Boschemen told them, that he overheard his countrymen deliberating about attacking them the same night, while they were asleep; and, in fact, the bold audacious behaviour of the savages gave some countenance to the report. Mr. Anderson

* See p. 439.

and his companions therefore slept out of doors that night, with their guns loaded ; and in the morning the Boschemen altered their conduct materially, and after obtaining three sheep, they went away in the course of the day. ^a

Having fixed on the Riet Fountain for a settlement, Mr. Anderson and his fellow missionaries soon found themselves surrounded by crowds of different people, Corannas, Namaquas, Hottentots, Bastard Hottentots, and Boschemen, together with their numerous herds and flocks. Here they began their labours with their usual zeal, and with the most pleasing prospect of success. A great desire prevailed among the people, to learn the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. Numbers of them used to hear the word with tears in their eyes, and they were even so impressed with convictions of their sinfulness and misery, that, at times, it was impossible to proceed with divine worship. Many of them also manifested a strong desire to learn to read, and, in a short time, some of them made considerable progress. Their external behaviour was, in general, as good as could be expected; and as yet none of them manifested the smallest opposition to the gospel. ^b

As the people, however, depended entirely on their cattle for subsistence, and as they were obliged to remove with them from spring to spring, at different periods of the year, in order to obtain pasture for them, this circumstance was not only attended with many inconveniences, but materially

^a Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 345. ^b Ibid. vol. i. p. 347; vol. ii. p. 27.

impeded their moral and religious improvement. Anxious to remedy this evil, Mr. Anderson endeavoured to fix them at different stations, and to dispose of their sheep and cattle at suitable places, so as, in some measure, to meet their approbation. He also began to form them into some kind of order, and to introduce agriculture among them; an attempt in which he succeeded beyond his most sanguine expectations, though it was attended with many difficulties and discouragements, in consequence of the indolence and inactivity of the people, as well as from the want of rain in the country. Griquatown, as the principal settlement was afterwards called, was a long day's journey to the north of the Orange River. ^c

In 1805, they were visited with the small-pox, which made terrible havock among them; for some time there was a burial every other day. There now appeared a gloom in every countenance; they began to dread the approach of death, and attended more diligently on the worship of God than they had of late done; but no sooner did the disorder disappear, and the danger seem to be over, than they became as careless as before, and neglected the means of religious instruction. Two years after, the small-pox again broke out among them; and of those who were attacked by it, near one half died. The cow-pox, however, was now introduced among them; and it tended greatly to promote the practice of vaccination, that several who had been inoculated slept with those who had the small-pox, and yet not

^c Miss. Trans. vol. i. p. 347; vol. iii. p. 11, 15.—Campbell's Travels, p. 221.

one of them caught the disorder ; a fact which furnishes a further confirmation, in addition to innumerable other incontestible proofs, of the efficacy of vaccination, in different climates, and under the greatest variety of circumstances. ^d

In 1813, the Rev. John Campbell in the course of his journey through South Africa, visited this part of the country. The number of Griquas who at this time resided at the Missionary settlement, and the neighbouring outposts connected with it, amounted to no fewer than 1266, of whom near one half were children. Besides the Griquas, there was a still greater number of Corannas, who considered themselves as connected with them for the sake of protection, many of whom occasionally, and some statedly attended on the instructions of the missionaries. These, as nearly as could be ascertained, amounted to 1341, making in all about 2607 persons.

It must not, however, be supposed that the whole of these were converts to Christianity, or, that they all made a profession of religion. The number who attended public worship on the Lord's day, did not commonly exceed three hundred; but at several of the outposts, there was a number of others with whom some of the converts regularly met for prayer, reading the Scriptures, and conversation about divine things. In the schools, there were upwards of two hundred and fifty scholars, but their attendance was very irregular.

Many of the Griquas possessed small gardens,

^d Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 16, 216,—Evan. Mag. vol. xvi. p. 444.

which produced pumpkins, cabbages, kidneybeans, pease, Indian corn, millet, but particularly tobacco, of which the inhabitants of this country are all immoderately fond. In different parts of the country, especially around Griqua town, there was a considerable portion of land under cultivation; but the progress of the people in agriculture was slow, and the corn raised by them was not sufficient for their subsistence. They had, however, a considerable number of cattle, sheep, and goats, and they acknowledged that these and other external advantages had materially increased, since through the labours of the missionaries, they became a stationary people. They also possessed twenty-four waggons, but most of these were worn out with age, as they were often imposed upon by the unprincipled colonists from whom they purchased them. The boors had only to cover their old waggons with pitch or tar, and though rotten to the core, the simple Griquas bought them as good and new. In this manner, many a veteran waggon found its way to Griqua town to deposit its dust.

During his stay at Griqua town, Mr. Campbell held a meeting of the inhabitants of the settlement, with the view of introducing among them, some regulations for the protection of the lives and property of their little community. He began by explaining to them, the nature and necessity of laws, for the government of every society: that by a statute against theft, they would protect the property of the weak and industrious, which was now at the mercy of the powerful and the profligate; that by another against murder, they would contribute to the security of each other's life, which at present might be sacri-

ficed on every frivolous occasion ; that by choosing particular individuals to rule over them, they did not properly yield up their natural rights, but merely lent them to these persons, for the good of themselves, and of the other members of the community. It was accordingly agreed among other things, that no one should punish another, whatever be the injury he may have received, but that he should bring the charge, and prove it by witnesses before the appointed court, which alone should decide his guilt and punishment ; that murder should be punished with death ; that theft should be punished by whipping, restitution, or hard labour, or by all these together, according to the circumstances of the offence. These and other useful regulations suggested by Mr. Campbell, the people agreed to adopt, both at Griqua town and the neighbouring outposts. ^e

Of late there had been a great lukewarmness among the inhabitants of this part of the country ; but while Mr. Campbell was at Griqua town, an awakening began among them, and after his departure it increased in a remarkable manner. Many of the people came to the missionaries in deep distress of mind, acknowledging their sinfulness, and inquiring what they should do to be saved. The time of the missionaries was entirely taken up with their visits : a remarkable reformation took place both among the old and the young, and a considerable number of them, were in a short time received by baptism into the bosom of the church. ^f

^e Campbell's Travels, p. 222, 349, 355.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1814, p. 13.

^f Rep. Miss. Soc. 1814, p. 13.—Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 164, 168.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxii. p. 489.

Promising, however, as were these circumstances, the aspect of this mission, like that of most others, especially among barbarous tribes, proved of a mixed nature, and was liable to many vicissitudes. Among the converts, there were some who afforded the missionaries much joy; but there were others who once made great professions of religion, yet afterwards gave little evidence of piety. Some of the people proved very refractory, and even threatened Mr. Anderson's life, and the entire ruin of the settlement. The quantity of arable land increased every year, and a few seemed disposed to build themselves permanent habitations; but they were as fickle as children, suddenly taking a fancy to begin a work, and on finding it required activity and perseverance, they as quickly abandoned it. Some who several years before laid the foundation of houses for themselves, never afterwards put a hand to the work.^s

In January 1821, the church at this station was in a low state, no additions having been lately made to it, while it was found necessary to exclude some from it. The number of members was about two hundred; but many of them manifested much coldness and indifference in relation to their spiritual interests. The evils which prevailed among them, resulted in no inconsiderable degree from their frequent and long absence from the means of religious instruction, occasioned by their hunting expeditions. In consequence of the predilection of the people for hunting, and their success in such expeditions, the cultivation of the ground, and the building of

^s Evan. Mag. vol. xxv. p. 34, 417; vol. xxvi. p. 404.

houses proceeded very slowly; but yet in these respects some improvement had taken place. In the school there were upwards of a hundred children, of whom upwards of one half could read, and a few were able to write and cypher. Connected with this mission, there were three other stations, Hardcastle, Konnah, and Rama, at which were placed native teachers.^h

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ARTICLE IV.

PELLA.

IN October 1804, Messrs. Christian and Abraham Albrecht, two brothers, together with Mr. John Sydenfaden from the Netherland Missionary Society, sailed from Holland for South Africa. Having arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, they remained there a considerable time, but at length they set off for Namaqua Land, the scene of their future labours, and after a very tedious and difficult journey, in the course of which they suffered not a little from the want of provisions, they reached that dreary country. Here they met with a very favourable reception from the inhabitants, and in a short time they had a considerable number of them under their care.<sup>a</sup>

The country, they were apprehensive, was too dry and barren to produce corn, so that they expected to be obliged to live entirely without bread;

<sup>h</sup> Evan. Mag. vol. xxix. p. 394.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 83.

<sup>a</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 176, 217; vol. iii. p. 23, 32.



but they were in hopes, that, from their vicinity to several fountains, they would be so far preserved from the effects of excessive drought, as to be able to maintain their cattle, which constituted their principal means of subsistence. It was not long, however, before they removed further into the interior, to a place near the Warm Bath ; but even there they found that they could not conveniently accommodate all their congregation, who lived chiefly by their cattle, and it was therefore agreed that one of them should accompany such of the people as might, from time to time, find it necessary to remove to other places for pasturage. Mr. Christian Albrecht accordingly undertook this laborious task. In one of his excursions among the neighbouring savages, he found the country such a frightful wilderness, so rocky, and so mountainous, that it was not possible to travel with a waggon, and even scarcely on horseback. He was obliged to seek the poor creatures in the most dismal holes and dens, and when he approached them they fled from him, so that he was under the necessity of sending a messenger before him to tranquillize their minds. They hid themselves for fear of their neighbours who were at war with them ; but on learning his design in visiting them, they received him with cordiality, and heard his instructions with pleasure.<sup>b</sup>

The people under the care of the missionaries, lived scattered over a tract of country six days' journey wide. Many of them appeared to be under serious impressions of religion ; a number of them, it was hoped, were truly converted to the Saviour ;

<sup>b</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 164, 243, 246.



some of whom were baptized and admitted to the Lord's Supper. In a political point of view, the situation of the Namaquas was materially improved by means of the missionaries. All those who were under their care agreed in saying, "We are now in a far happier condition than we were before the arrival of our teachers; till then there was nothing but fighting, and bloodshed, and murder." One of them expressed himself in the following manner, "At my time of life, I often wonder I have not been killed; but since our teachers came hither, I can sleep in safety, for now there is peace amongst us."<sup>c</sup>

In the beginning of 1811, the missionary settlement at the Warm Bath was abandoned, partly for want of rain, and partly from dread of an attack from Africaner, a notorious robber in that part of the country. This fellow had lived in the vicinity of the missionary settlement ever since its commencement, and though previously guilty of great depredations, and most shocking cruelties, he for sometime conducted himself in a peaceable manner. The inhabitants of the Warm Bath, however, having sent a large armed party to assist some of the neighbouring Namaquas who had quarrelled with him, Africaner was so enraged at this, that he threatened to destroy the settlement. Many of the people had already dispersed, and as the whole district, particularly near the Warm Bath, was destitute of water, Mr. Christian Albrecht was under the necessity of leaving it with such as remained,

<sup>c</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 244, 246, 311, 313.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1811, p. 13.



and of retiring to those places where there had been a supply of rain. For a whole month they lived in hourly apprehension of an attack from Africaner; and, in the meanwhile, they almost perished of hunger, as they were prevented from hunting, in consequence of the perpetual watch they were obliged to maintain. Mr. Albrecht applied for protection and assistance to the constituted authorities in that part of the country; and as they were not able to afford him the aid which was necessary, he was obliged to go to Capetown, in order to obtain a supply of arms and ammunition for his people, that they might defend themselves in case they should be attacked by this monster and his murderous band.<sup>d</sup>

Having received from government a small supply of arms, Mr. Albrecht, accompanied by several other missionaries who had lately arrived from Europe, set off for Namaqua Land. In travelling through the wilderness, their dangers and sufferings were truly affecting. Sometimes they were without water for themselves and their cattle; their oxen, weakened by want of sustenance, refused to draw their waggon; many of them had to be left behind, and some died of thirst. They themselves were without bread for nearly a month, and were in danger of perishing in the desert, had not Cornelius Kok, at the Silver Fountain, to whom they with difficulty got notice of their distress, sent them a supply of men and oxen, who conducted them to that place.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 31, 427.—Campbell's Travels, p. 535.

<sup>e</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 433; vol. iv. p. 36, 43, 47.



On reaching Namaqua Land, the missionaries deemed it inexpedient to settle again at the Warm Bath, as Africaner renewed his threatenings. They, therefore, removed with their people over the Orange River, to a place about three days' journey nearer the colony. This spot they called Pella, because it was a place of refuge to them from the ravages of that monster, as ancient Pella had been to the Jewish Christians when Jerusalem was besieged by the Romans. A more barren spot, however, it is scarcely possible to conceive: all around was one sandy waste, interspersed here and there with a few bushes. The supply of water was the only temptation to settle in this place.<sup>f</sup>

In September 1813, Mr. Campbell in the course of his journey through South Africa, visited Pella, and among other useful labours, he here introduced similar regulations to those which had been agreed upon at Griqua town. The number of persons connected with the settlement, amounted to 636, including men, women, and children. The church, however, consisted only of nineteen members; in the school there were a hundred and fifty scholars, and about twenty-five girls were taught needle-work by the wives of the missionaries.<sup>g</sup>

But though at this time the number of church members was so small, a remarkable awakening began among the people in this quarter, soon after Mr. Campbell's visit. Numbers, both of the old and young, appeared to be deeply impressed with a sense of their sinfulness and misery, and in the

<sup>f</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 45.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1814, p. 11.  
—Campbell's Travels, p. 417, 421.

<sup>g</sup> Campbell's Travels, p. 425, 428.



course of a short time, upwards of a hundred were baptized and added to the church.<sup>h</sup> A few years afterward, however, the mission at this place was abandoned.

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ARTICLE V.

LATTAKOO.

IN February 1815, Messrs. John Evans, Robert Hamilton, Joseph Williams, and G. Barker, sailed from England for South Africa, and after encountering successive tremendous storms, they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope. After visiting Bethelsdorp, Messrs. Evans and Hamilton, accompanied by a number of the Hottentots, proceeded to Lattakoo, and after experiencing many of the difficulties and hardships which are incident to a journey through the wilds of South Africa, they reached that place in safety. On their arrival, they were received with great cordiality by the king, who supposed they were traders come to exchange goods with his people; but on learning they were the missionaries whom Mr. Campbell had promised to send to instruct them, he was greatly disappointed. Afterwards, however, he seemed much pleased, when he understood that they would make for him instruments of wood, and tools of iron; but he was still quite averse to the idea of instruction, and the people were no less hostile to it than himself. "No

^h Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 176, 193.—Evan, Mag. vol. xxiii. p. 429; vol. xxiv. p. 35.

learning," said they, "must come here." The missionaries, therefore, returned to Griqua town; but after remaining there for some months, they made a second journey to Lattakoo in the hope of meeting with a more favourable reception. But, as on their arrival, the king was absent on a hunting expedition with several hundreds of the people, they were obliged to retrace their steps without effecting their purpose.^a

Scarcely had they returned the second time to Griqua town, when Mr. Read arrived from Bethelsdorp, with the view of proceeding to Lattakoo, where he was still determined to attempt the establishment of a mission. In the course of the journey, however, a most painful discovery had been made. Mr. Read, who had long appeared a man of no ordinary piety, stedfastness, and humility, who had laboured for so many years, with much ability, zeal, and activity, who, in short, was considered as one of the first missionaries in South Africa, was found to have been living in a course of adultery with a Hottentot female, the daughter of one of his principal members; thus affording a striking lesson of the instability of creatures, of the necessity of holy watchfulness, and of the need of divine influence, to preserve us, even from the foulest transgressions.

Notwithstanding this sad discovery, Mr. Read proceeded to Lattakoo, and though the king was still full of objections to the missionaries residing at that place, yet on learning that many articles would be sent thither for the use of him and his

^a Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 293.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxv. p. 155.
—Letters from R. Hamilton, MS.

people, he at length gave them liberty to settle in the country.^b

In June 1817, the missionaries removed to the Krooman river, a distance of about three days' journey. Here a new town was begun; and though some of the chiefs made considerable opposition to this measure, the king was favourable to it. The inhabitants of this place amounted, it was conjectured, to about four thousand, while about an equal number remained at old Lattakoo. A commodious place of worship was erected, capable of containing about four hundred persons, and a long row of missionary houses, furnished with excellent gardens. Few of the people, however, attended on public worship, and indeed, they, in general, manifested much indifference to religion. The missionaries could have got plenty of young people to attend on their instructions, had they been disposed to feed them, or daily to make them presents. The children coming to school, and the old people to worship, was considered by the natives as a favour done to the missionaries. So generally was this the case, that when the missionaries observed a captain attending regularly for a short time, who had not been accustomed to attend before, they expected an early application from him, for the use of their waggon, their plough, their oxen, or some other article. In the present state of things, it was generally found prudent to comply with their request. The king cared not how much he troubled the missionaries, or begged from them; but he was sometimes enraged when he saw them troubled by others. On one

^b Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 391.

occasion, he laid hold of a stick, and knocked down captains, servants, women, and children, all, in short, who came in his way, without distinction.^c

The missionaries, with the few Hottentots attached to the mission, have dug a canal from a distance of three miles above the town, by means of which, the whole water of the Krooman can be led into their extensive fields and gardens. On both sides of this canal, are extensive fields of Caffre corn, belonging to the natives. The Mat-chappees never interfere to prevent the missionaries sowing or planting what or where they please; but they themselves are all obliged to act according to ancient rule. Though they are very fond of potatoes, they have never been prevailed on to plant any, because they resemble nothing which has been handed down to them by their forefathers, to whose manners and customs they seem as strongly attached as the Hindoo or the Mussulman. This blind and bigoted attachment constitutes a powerful obstruction to the introduction among them, of the arts of civilization, as well as of Christianity.^d

Besides these stations, of which we have given some account, the Missionary Society established a number of others in various parts of South Africa. Soon after the commencement of its operations in that quarter of the globe, some of the missionaries, directed their attention to the Hottentots, slaves, and other Heathen in Capetown and the surrounding country, and though they did not collect them

^c Evan. Mag. vol. xxvi. p. 405.—Campbell's Second Journey, vol. i. p. 65, 67, 74, 102.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 117.

^d Campbell's Second Journey, vol. ii. p. 85, 101.

into missionary settlements, their labours, it is said, were attended with considerable success. ^e

Among the fruits of Mr. Campbell's first visit to South Africa, was the establishment of a number of new missionary settlements, both within and beyond the boundaries of the colony. But as missions in the same country, are generally characterized by similar features, most of them furnish few details of an interesting nature, materially different from those of which we have given an account. We shall, therefore, simply subjoin a list of them :

<i>Begun.*</i>	<i>Stations.</i>
1800	Cape Town,
1801	<i>Waggon Makers' Valley,</i>
1801	Stellenbosch,
1801	<i>Bosjesveld,</i>
	<i>Rodezand,</i>
1804	Warm Bath, afterwards removed to Pella,
1804	<i>Kamies Berg,</i>
1811	Caledon Institution,
1813	Pacaltsdorp,
1814	Theopolis,
1814	<i>Gracehill,</i>
1814	<i>Bethesda,</i>
1814	Bethany,
1815	<i>Jerusalem, or Africaner's Kraal,</i>
1816	<i>Steinkopff,</i>
1816	<i>Hephzibah,</i>
1816	<i>Cat River, in Caffraria,</i>
1819	Paarl,
1819	Tulbagh,
1820	Campbell. ^f

^e Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 49, 67.

^f Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 49, 74; vol. iii. p. 309; vol. iv. p. 447.

* The commencement of these stations we have generally dated from the time the missionaries engaged in them left Europe : those which were begun by missionaries who were

In most of these stations, the number of persons under the care of the missionaries, amounted to several hundreds. It is a singular circumstance, that some of them were scarcely begun, when a great awakening took place among the people, many of whom were in a short time admitted by baptism into the bosom of the church. In several cases, indeed, the awakening began so soon after the arrival of the missionaries, before the people could have any proper understanding of the truths of religion, and it manifested itself so much in crying, and trembling, and fainting, and other bodily affections, that we feel no small jealousy with respect to its nature. We admire the patience, the courage, the self-denial, the entire devotedness of some of the South African missionaries to the great work in which they are engaged; but we cannot help wishing they had more scriptural, and more rational views of Christian piety: we wish they possessed a little of the spiritual discrimination of the illustrious Brainerd, who was so careful in distinguishing true religion from its various coun-

previously settled in the colony, we have dated from the time they set off for their new stations. Such as have been relinquished, are printed in Italics. If the reader wishes some details respecting these and other stations of the London Missionary Society, of which we simply give the names, he may consult the *Quarterly Chronicle*, vol. ii. p. 1—39.

In this list of missionary stations, it is pleasing to find the Kraal of Africaner, who was, for so many years, the terror of the whole country; but who, through the power of the gospel, was transformed into a perfect lamb. After he was brought under the influence of the truth, he appeared a meek, humble, intelligent Christian, and lately died in the hope of eternal glory. *Evan. Mag.* vol. xxvii. p. 425, 428; vol. i. (N. S.) p. 125.

terfeits, particularly from the mere operation of the imagination and the affections, of sympathy, example, and spiritual pride. It is an important observation of Dr. Thom, who was for some years engaged in missionary labours in South Africa, that he had often seen abundance of tears shed by Hottentots, under the preaching of the word, when there was no internal conviction of the truth.[§]

Before we close our account of the missions in South Africa, impartiality requires us to state, that a few years ago, many and great disorders prevailed in them. It was a rule laid down by Dr. Vanderkemp, that every station should be under the direction of one of the missionaries; that he should be invested with absolute authority, and that all the other missionaries should be subject to him, a regulation which was felt to be very grievous by the missionaries, and was productive of a vast deal of mischief, particularly of much disunion amongst them. Between the Directors at home, and the missionaries abroad, there also arose great differences, which terminated in the resignation of several of them in the year 1818; but three of these became ministers of Dutch churches in the colony, and have not only nominal Christians, but a number of Hottentots under their care: two others became missionaries under the Colonial Government, Mr. Brownlee to Caffraria, and Mr. Smit to the Hottentots in the neighbourhood of Beaufort. We have already noticed the melancholy fall of Mr. Read; but he was not the only one of the missionaries who

[§] Evan. Mag. vol. xxiii. p. 518, 545; vol. xxiv. p. 194, 422; vol. xxv. p. 74.—Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 173, 359.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1815, p. 20.—Latrobe's Travels, p. 143.

yielded to the force of temptation ; three others were guilty of the sin of uncleanness.ⁿ We apprehend that the beneficial effects of the missions in South Africa, both in a civil and religious point of view, are considerably less than what was represented a few years ago, and, perhaps, than even what we have, in some instances, described in this work, as we have necessarily been guided by the documents which have been published. By some, the missionaries were represented as neglecting the civilization of the people under their care ; and though the charge was stoutly denied by the friends of missions, yet there appears to have been more foundation for it, than many apprehended. The charge, however, having been made, has, we believe, had a very beneficial effect in turning the attention, both of the Society and of the Missionaries to the cultivation of the arts of life, among the barbarous tribes which are the object of their labours ; and at some of the stations, particularly at Pacaltsdorp, very considerable improvements have been effected within these few years.

SECTION III.

EAST INDIES.

ARTICLE I. VIZIGAPATAM.

IN February 1804, the Rev. William T. Ringeltaube, George Cran, and Augustus des Granges, sailed from England for the East Indies, with the

ⁿ Minutes of the Missionary Deputies held in the Orphan House, Cape of Good Hope, August 1817, MS.

view of establishing a mission on the coast of Coromandel. On their arrival, however, some difference of opinion arose among them with regard to the place where they should settle. Mr. Ringeltaube preferred the south of India, while Cran and Des Granges proceeded to the Northern Circars, and fixed their residence at Vizigapatam, a town containing about twenty thousand inhabitants, with many large villages in the neighbourhood. ^a

Besides applying to the study of the Telinga language, which is understood over a very extensive tract of country, the missionaries, soon after their arrival, began to preach to their countrymen, and to the descendants of Europeans who resided in the town. In this they were encouraged by many of the gentlemen in the settlement; and, in consequence of an application from the judge, the governor in council was pleased to allow them ten pagodas a month, for performing divine service in the fort. They also began to distribute rice among the poor once a week; and it was not long before there were a hundred and fifty of these miserable objects, who regularly received an allowance from them. In this measure, they were kindly assisted by the ladies and gentlemen in the town, who agreed to advance certain sums monthly for this purpose, and to place them under their management and care. ^b

Impressed with the importance of the education of the youth, the missionaries drew up an address

^a Evan. Mag. vol. xii. p. 140.—Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 205, 261, 397, 403.

^b Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 443, 447.

and a plan for a charity-school, which they presented to the gentlemen and ladies in the town, who most readily adopted the proposal, and contributed nearly thirteen hundred rupees for the building, besides some monthly subscriptions for the support of the scholars. Soon after the school was opened, it was attended by between thirty and forty children. Among them there were some of all the different casts, from the Brahmin to the Soodra; and several came from the distance of ten, twenty, and even thirty miles, on purpose to attend it. The principal object for which the Hindoo youth came to the school was to learn the English language; and though they were professed Pagans, yet they willingly listened to the truths of Christianity, and even requested permission to form a class for reading the Old and New Testament. They were taught by a native schoolmaster, who was born of Christian parents, and whom the missionaries brought with them from Madras.^c

The missionaries were, at the same time, careful to embrace every opportunity of conversing with the natives on the subject of religion. They were daily visited by Hindoos of different casts, and even by many of the Brahmins. Some professed to approve of their doctrine, acknowledging that it was better than their own. Others affirmed, that it was all one; he who adhered strictly to the religion of his own country, would be accepted of God. "Heaven," said a Brahmin, with more elegance than truth, "Heaven is like a palace that has many gates, at which people may enter. Variety is

^c Rep. Miss. Soc. 1807, p. 21.—Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 131.

pleasing to God;" intimating by this that the Hindoo religion, was as good as the Christian.^d

In January 1807, Messrs. John Gordon and William Lee, sailed for the East Indies by the way of America; but they were detained so long in that country, in consequence of the unhappy differences between England and the United States, that about three years elapsed before they reached Vizigapatam. Previous to their arrival, Cran had died, just when he had acquired the language, and was beginning to make known among the Hindoos, "the unsearchable riches of Christ." Soon after, Des Granges followed him to the grave, so that had they been longer of arriving, Vizigapatam would have been left without a missionary, and even as it was, the progress of the mission was necessarily much interrupted, as they had to acquire the language before they could be in any considerable degree useful, a fact, which independent of other circumstances, strikingly illustrates the inexpediency of employing only an individual or two in a mission, especially in an unhealthy climate, since the expense and labour of years may by this means be lost, whereas, when there are four or five in the same district, they can not only carry on their operations with inexpressibly more energy, but though some of them should die, others acquainted with the language still remain to carry forward the work.^e

In 1812, the three first gospels which Mr. Des Granges had completed before his death, issued from the press of the Baptist missionaries at Serampore. His surviving brethren now began to distribute them

^d Rep. Miss. Soc. 1807, p. 22.—Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 442.

^e Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 5, 266, 349, 354, 357.

in Vizigapatam, and the neighbouring villages; but they were grieved to find that except the Brahmins, few of the people were able to read. In a village containing about eight hundred or a thousand inhabitants, only three or four could read intelligibly, and very few appeared disposed to learn. The missionaries, therefore, began to visit the neighbouring villages for the purpose of reading the word of God to the people, and of conversing with them on the subject of religion. They, at the same time, employed a Brahmin in the same important work, and what is rather singular, he not only read the Scriptures to his countrymen, but endeavoured to explain them according to the best of his ability. When one of the people reprimanded him for reading a Christian book, he vindicated himself, saying, that he came there as his master's servant, and merely executed his orders.^f Many of the Brahmins, it would seem, are men who will do any thing for money: they appear so destitute of every principle of conscience, and even of common consistency, that, for a very trifling remuneration, they will unite in efforts to overturn their own system of religion, if, indeed, men can be said to have any religion who can thus trample its first dictates under their feet.

In 1819, the New Testament in Telinga, translated by Mr. Pritchett, one of the missionaries at Vizigapatam, was published at Madras, at the expense of the Calcutta Bible Society. He also translated a considerable part of the Old Testament into Telinga; but while he was indulging in the hope of

^f Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811.—App. p. 17, 116.—Ibid. 1813.—App. p. 97.—Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 76, 78.

completing it, at no distant period, death put an end to this and all his other labours. The children in the schools connected with this station did remarkably well: the people appeared less attached to their own superstition than formerly; but only one woman has been baptized.⁸

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ARTICLE II.

TRAVANCORE.

IN February 1804, the Rev. Mr. Ringeltaube sailed for India along with Messrs. Cran and Des Granges; but as on their arrival, he did not approve of the station of which they made choice, he resolved, that, while they proceeded to the Northern Circars, he would direct his labours to the southern part of the peninsula. For some time, however, he was undecided with regard to the particular place where he should settle; but having received very melancholy accounts of the condition of the Christians in the Tinevelly country, he, at length, determined to fix his residence in that district. Here there were about five thousand Christian converts, under the care of thirty catechists and schoolmasters,\* who were connected with the Anglo-Danish mission; and it was said, that of late they had suffered most grievous persecution from their Pagan countrymen, on account of their profession of Christianity, and that this might easily have been prevented, had a European missionary been resident among them.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 97, 205, 207, 298, 336, 406; vol. v. p. 416.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxvii. p. 163.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 49.

<sup>a</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 431, 435; vol. iii. p. 119, 141.

\* See vol. i. p. 200, 216.



In February 1806, Mr. Ringeltaube proceeded to the Tinevelly district, and on his arrival, he found the Christians, as they were called, very numerous, but scattered up and down the country in the different villages. In many of these, they had churches, several of which were large and handsome; but most of them were small, and some only Palmyra sheds. The reports of the grievous persecutions which they had suffered, appear to have been greatly exaggerated, if not wholly unfounded, though Mr. Ringeltaube seems to have received them from a respectable quarter. The cause of all their troubles was not their profession of Christianity, but their refusal to bear their share of the public burdens; and when those in power proceeded to punish them for their disobedience, they raised a mighty outcry of persecution, while, in fact, it was nothing more than what their conduct justly merited. In general, indeed, they were extremely ignorant, and could be considered as Christians only in name. In one place, none of the congregation could answer the simple question, "What must you do to be saved?" In another town, about three hundred people requested Mr. Ringeltaube to baptize them, but when asked the reason, they could not tell. "For the good of my soul," the best instructed of them replied; but here their knowledge ended. Among those who applied for baptism, one assigned the following as the cause of his desire: "My two brothers, coming down from a Palmyra tree, received a mortal blow from the devil in their chests. I want to be baptized, in order to avoid a similar fate." On another occasion, a person gave the following answer: "Formerly, I paid ten pan-



chukram to government; this year, the collector demands twelve; therefore I desire to become a Christian." There is a district in that country inhabited chiefly by Mahommedans, who had embraced the faith of the Arabian imposter, in order to escape a small tax of about eighteen pence a year, which the Sanaers are obliged to pay, while the Moslems are exempted from it. Thus, for the sake of that trifling sum, these people had agreed to change their religion! <sup>b</sup>

After a short time, Mr. Ringeltaube obtained permission to extend his labours into the kingdom of Travancore, which now became the chief seat of the mission. Here he formed several congregations, and baptized some hundreds of the inhabitants; but, most of them, we fear, had little or nothing of Christianity except the name. The chief object which many of them appear to have had in view, in becoming Christians, was an expectation that they would then be exempted from the public burdens. This idea, Mr. Ringeltaube, indeed, was careful to discourage; and, at length, before he would baptize any, he made them promise that they would perform the accustomed services, and obey the king and magistrates as before. Several people of high cast, both Hindoos and Mahommedans, intimated to him, that they were ready to become Christians, if he would pay their debts; but as he of course declined so disinterested an offer, they never called again. For two hundred rupees, he says, he might have bought them all. <sup>c</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 98, 101, 103, 117, 119, 133, 373.

<sup>c</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 113, 117, 373, 374, 379; vol. iv, p. 113.



In December 1817, the Rev. Mr. Mead arrived in Travancore, which Mr. Ringeltaube had left sometime before, on account of the state of his health. Here, he found on his arrival, no fewer than ten Christian congregations, with each of which was connected a school for the instruction of the children. So little attached were the inhabitants of this quarter of India to the superstitions of their ancestors, that within about three years, upwards of five thousand of them renounced idolatry and submitted to Christian instruction. Of these he in a short time baptized upwards of five hundred: no fewer than thirty-two schools were also established among them, and the congregations were increased to twenty-two. There is one peculiarity in the system pursued by Mr. Mead, which is, at least, worthy of the consideration of other missionaries: the renunciation of cast he did not deem indispensable; the opposite opinion he thought had prevented many from reading the scriptures, and listening to the evidences of Christianity. Mr. Mead, having been appointed a magistrate by the Rajah's government, the people were so sensible of the advantages resulting from his impartial administration of justice, that high and low, Brahmins and Sooders, said, "You are our Father, our Saviour, our only protection." Such language, however, from the lips of Hindoos, must not be too literally interpreted: their expressions of obligation commonly far exceed their feelings of gratitude. The judicial situation which he held, Mr. Mead very wisely resigned after a short time.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. v. p. 256, 378, 381.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxiv. p. 449; vol. xxvii. p. 207; vol. xxviii. p. 122, 355; vol. xxix. p. 438, 487.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1820, p. 63.



Besides these stations, the Missionary Society established several others in India; but though some of them are highly important, yet, as they furnish few details of an interesting nature, materially different from other missions, the history of which we have already recorded, we shall content ourselves with a few general statements relative to them. Besides preaching to the Europeans in their neighbourhood, particularly the military, among whom their labours appeared to be attended with considerable success, the missionaries went among the natives, addressed them on the subject of religion, distributed tracts among them, read the Scriptures to them, and gave them copies, if they were already printed in the language spoken by them. But the most remarkable feature in these stations, is the extensive scale on which the education of the young is conducted. This is an object to which the missionaries, especially at Chinsurah, directed much of their attention, and their exertions promise to be attended with the most favourable results. In some of the schools, the Scriptures were employed as a schoolbook, without the natives making any material objection to them; or, if prejudices against them existed, in the first instance, they soon subsided. In others, they were not used from a dread that this might excite opposition among the natives, and defeat the whole plan. The teachers were generally Hindoos, some of them Brahmins; but it was necessary to maintain a strict superintendence over them, as without this they were sure to neglect their duty. Female schools have also of late been opened at some of the stations, and have been partially successful. The Hindoos, however, feel a strong re-



pugnance to the education of females, as according to the prevalent custom of India, women, only of the vilest and most degraded class, have the privilege of being taught to read.

In the following Table are included the stations established by the Missionary Society in India, and the schools connected with them according to the latest accounts.

| <i>Begun.*</i> | <i>Places.</i>        | <i>Schools.</i> | <i>Scholars.</i> |
|----------------|-----------------------|-----------------|------------------|
| 1798           | Chinsurah, .....      | 23              | 2,450            |
| 1804           | Madras, .....         | 15              | 555              |
| 1809           | Bellary, .....        | 17              | 800              |
| 1812           | <i>Ganjam</i> , ..... | —               | —                |
| 1815           | Surat, .....          | 3               | 150              |
| 1816           | Calcutta, .....       | 4               | —                |
| 1819           | Bangalore, .....      | 2               | —                |
| 1819           | Benares, .....        | —               | —                |
| 1820           | Belgaum, .....        | —               | —                |
| 1821           | Quilon, .....         | —               | —                |
| Total,         |                       | 64              | 3,955            |

The missionaries at Bellary, have translated the Old and New Testament into Kurnata: they have also compiled a Grammar and Vocabulary of that language. Those at Surat have translated the New

\* The commencement of these stations we have generally dated from the time the first missionaries left England. In 1798, the Rev. Mr. Forsyth sailed for Bengal, and settled at Chinsurah; but though he preached to the British soldiers and other Europeans, it does not appear he ever made any attempts for the conversion of the Hindoos. In 1811, Mr. May, who strictly speaking, was the founder of the present station at Chinsurah, sailed from England: He merits the highest praise for the extensive scale on which he established schools in that neighbourhood. *Ganjam*, which is printed in Italics, has been relinquished.



Testament into Guzzerattee, and are proceeding with a version of the Old: they are also preparing a Grammar and Dictionary of that dialect. At various of these stations, Bible, Missionary, and Tract Societies, were instituted among the European inhabitants. The missionaries, in general, prosecuted their labours with great energy and zeal; and with very favourable prospects of success.

#### SECTION IV.

#### CHINA.

IN January 1807, the Rev. Robert Morrison sailed from England for China, with a particular view to the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the Chinese language. On his arrival, he thought it would facilitate his object to adopt the dress and manners of the natives. He accordingly walked about in a Chinese frock, and with thick Chinese shoes; he had a tail, or tress of hair of some length; allowed his nails to grow, dined with his Chinese teacher, and ate with chop sticks. But he was afterwards convinced, that though in adopting the manners of the Chinese, he meant well, he had judged ill. To make himself remarkable in external appearance, was proclaiming to the Chinese that he had different objects in view from those of other foreigners in Canton, and hence, the very means which he had adopted for conciliating them, were calculated to rouse their jealousy. In various parts of India, the Jesuits are said to have lived on roots and vegetables like the Brahmins, and were,



on this account, considered by the natives as Brahmins of a different colour, from a distant country. But it is surely better that a Christian missionary should appear in the habit of a foreigner, who has brought to them the knowledge of a more excellent religion, and that there should be nothing in his dress or manners which should lead them to suppose that the system he teaches them is essentially the same as their own. Perhaps, however, in travelling through a country under a heathen government, it may sometimes be expedient for the sake of peace and safety, to assume the dress of the natives.<sup>a</sup>

Previous to leaving Europe, Mr. Morrison had paid some attention to the Chinese language; and on arriving in the country, he prosecuted the study both of the Canton, and the Mandarin dialects with unwearied assiduity. In learning the language, he had to make it as much a matter of secrecy as if he had been plotting the overthrow of the government. The persons who assisted him, trembled for their own safety, should they be discovered. In consequence of an order from Peking, that every foreigner should have in his house, a man licensed to provide for his table, who should become responsible for whatever was transacted within it, he had, at one time, some difficulty in procuring provisions, as those who had hitherto served him, were afraid to come under such an engagement. Notwithstanding the restrictions under which he laboured, and the very imperfect helps which he enjoyed, he succeeded in acquiring the language in a much shorter period

<sup>a</sup> Milne's Retrospect of the Protestant Mission to China, p. 62.—The Friend of India, No. v. May 1822.



than had been anticipated, considering its singular structure, and peculiar difficulty. Here it may not be improper to mention, that Mr. Morrison had not been long in the country, when he was appointed Chinese interpreter to the East India Company, an office, which, while it secured his residence at Macao, contributed to his acquisition of the language.<sup>b</sup>

In January 1814, the New Testament in the Chinese language, was completed at press. Of this work, the Four Gospels, the closing Epistles, and the book of Revelation, were translated by Mr. Morrison: the Acts of the Apostles, and the Epistles of Paul, were taken from a valuable manuscript in the British Museum, a transcript of which he carried with him from England, only he made such corrections and alterations upon it as he judged necessary. He afterwards proceeded with the translation of the Old Testament, assisted by Mr. Milne, and as the version is finished, it is expected that it will soon be completed at press. He also printed catechisms, and several tracts in the Chinese language; and though he durst not publicly distribute the Scriptures or tracts, yet vast numbers of them were circulated, particularly in the Asiatic islands, whence many of them returned to China.<sup>c</sup>

With respect to the printing of books, considerable difficulties arose in the first stages of the mis-

<sup>b</sup> Milne's Retrospect, p. 73, 78.—Panoplist, vol. iii. (N. S.) p. 186, 227.

<sup>c</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 457; vol. iv. p. 124, 127.—Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 65.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, App. p. 26.—Evan. Mag. vol. ix. p. 445.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1816, p. 4.



sion, from the watchful jealousy of the Chinese government, and from want of local experience. The former circumstance rendered the attempt to print Chinese books dangerous; while the latter made it expensive. The complete ascendancy which the Chinese have over foreigners, gives them every possible advantage in imposing upon them, and they possess an astonishing dexterity in making the most of their advantages. This is the case with respect to things which their own political code pronounces legal; but doubly so as to objects which the laws do not recognise, or which they, by keeping the laws out of sight, can make to operate on the fears of a foreigner, to induce him to pay an extravagant price, rather than run the risk of exposure to the consequences of what may really be, or, for interested purposes, is represented as a transgression. There is not, indeed, so far as we know, any express law in China, prohibiting the printing of the Holy Scriptures, for these were never till now proposed to be printed, and could not be anticipated by any legal statute, except by consequence or analogy. Christianity as taught by Christ and his apostles, the Chinese had never heard of; but they knew the Roman Catholic religion, and had condemned and proscribed it. As, however, the same names are in many instances employed by Protestants, which are used by Catholics, and as their principles are in some particulars the same, the government could not be supposed to discriminate between them; but might be expected to condemn the whole as a foreign innovation. Indeed, the Protestant system, from its naked simplicity, and its unreserved condemnation of idolatry and



superstition in their multifarious forms, was even less likely to obtain quarter from the Chinese, than the Catholic had found; for the latter only required them to transfer their worship of created beings from departed Chinese sages, to deceased but canonized Christians, while the former will not suffer any created object to usurp the prerogatives of the Deity. If these circumstances are taken into consideration, it will not appear strange that Mr. Morrison felt some difficulty and apprehensions, when he commenced the printing of the Scriptures. In order, if possible, to avoid the risk of trouble from the government, he formed the idea of learning the art of Chinese printing himself, and accordingly, he procured a set of graving tools, and began the operation of cutting: but he soon found that he had undertaken a task, the execution of which was quite incompatible with the more important labours in which he was engaged. He had, therefore, no alternative but to employ Chinese workmen, though he knew that the risk, both to them and to himself, was very great. Partly, perhaps, on this account, and partly in consequence of the disposition of the Chinese to over-reach whoever deals with them, the price which he had to pay in the first instance, was enormous, the expense of printing the Acts of the Apostles, being half a crown, a sum for which the missionaries were afterwards able to print the whole New Testament. Not long, indeed, after the New Testament was completed, some alarm was excited, and an attack by the local government on the press was dreaded, in consequence of a native workman who was em-



ployed in preparing metal types for another work of Mr. Morrison's, collecting a number of workmen in a situation near one of the public offices. The person who had in his possession the blocks of the New Testament, hearing of the danger to the press, and fearing that it might extend to him, destroyed the chief part of them; but they were afterwards recut. \* <sup>d</sup>

Besides these works, Dr. Morrison published several others, chiefly of a philological nature, with the view of assisting the future student in acquiring the language of China. The principal of these were, A Grammar of the Chinese language; A Collection of Dialogues, and detached sentences, Chinese and English; A view of China, containing a sketch of Chinese Chronology, Geography, Population, Government, Religion and Customs; and a Dictionary of the Chinese language, containing all the characters which occur in the original Chinese Dictionary, in 32 volumes, published in 1716, by order of the Emperor of China. These works were printed at the expense of the East India Company, who sent a printer and a press from Europe to

<sup>d</sup> Milne's Retrospect, p. 141, 231.

\* The Chinese translation by Dr. Marshman of Serampore, is printed with moveable metal types; that by Dr. Morrison with wooden blocks. Which of these modes of printing is preferable, on the whole, we do not possess the information necessary for forming judgment; but from the statements of Dr. Milne in his *Retrospect of the mission to China*, p. 255, we are disposed to retract the opinion we expressed p. 181, as to moveable types affording greater facilities for correcting a work in successive editions. Wooden blocks, on the contrary, appear to possess the decided superiority in this respect.



Macao, that the Dictionary might be executed under Dr. Morrison's own eye. <sup>e</sup>

In consequence of the extreme jealousy of the Chinese government, it was impossible for Dr. Morrison to preach either in Canton or Macao; but he endeavoured privately to communicate to a few individuals the knowledge of divine truth. One of his hearers who had acquired some acquaintance with the principles of Christianity, and of whom he entertained favourable hopes, he at length baptized. <sup>f</sup>

In China, the Christian religion as propagated by the Roman Catholic missionaries, has been severely persecuted for the last hundred years. Edict has of late years followed edict, against such Europeans as should print books on the subject of Christianity, and all others who should attempt to spread it in any part of the Empire. In some instances, the Catholic converts were treated with great severity. The search even extended to Macao; and, it is said, the Mandarin who was sent thither for this purpose, made a cross of wood, and ordered that all who trod upon it, should go free; but that whoever refused should be punished. Some did tread on it, and were dismissed; others who would not, were severely bamboed or imprisoned, unless they could pay the mandarin a ransom. In the province of Hoo-peh, it is said, a French missionary was lately strangled, by order of government; and another of the name of L'Ariot, who

<sup>e</sup> Rep. Miss. Soc. 1818, p. 58.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxiii. p. 341, 427; vol. xxiv. p. 272.

<sup>f</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 125.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxi. p. 397; vol. xxiii. p. 426.



had resided twenty-seven years in Peking, was expelled from the empire. The native Christians when they would not apostatize, suffered the most dreadful torments, and were afterwards banished to Tartary.<sup>g</sup>

## SECTION V.

### MALACCA.

IN September 1812, the Rev. William Milne sailed from England for China, to assist Dr. Morrison in his labours; but on his arrival at Macao, which is subject to the crown of Portugal, the governor influenced by the Catholic priests, ordered him to leave the island within eight days. He therefore retired for the present to Canton, while the ships from Europe were taking in their cargoes, and he afterwards proceeded to Java, with the view of circulating the New Testament and tracts among the Chinese, who have emigrated in great numbers to that and other islands in the Indian Ocean. After distributing considerable numbers among the Chinese resident in Batavia and the neighbourhood, he made a tour of about fourteen hundred miles through the eastern parts of Java, and the island of Madura, visiting most of the principal towns where the Chinese were settled. In the course of this extensive journey, he was treated by all ranks of persons in the kindest and most respectful manner. He was even introduced

<sup>g</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. vii. p. 400.—Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 459.  
—Evan. Mag. vol. xxiii. p. 298, 341; vol. xxiii. p. 81.



to the Emperor of Java, and when at the seat of the Sultan of Madura, he slept a night in the palace.<sup>a</sup>

In April 1815, Mr. Milne again left China, to which he had lately returned, and proceeded to Malacca, with the view of establishing a branch of the Chinese mission in that country, in the hope that missionaries would there be able to carry on their labours without interruption. Here he was joined by other labourers, and an extensive establishment was formed by their united exertions. They instituted schools for Chinese, Malay, and Malabar children; they printed a variety of works in the Chinese and Malay languages; they forwarded them in great numbers to the different settlements in the Archipelago, where the Chinese resided, to Siam, Cochin-China, and even to China itself. They not only visited the Chinese in the town of Malacca, and conversed with them on the subject of religion; but they preached regularly in various places, both in Chinese and Malay. They found it impracticable, however, to collect any number of hearers: ten persons could scarcely be brought together, either in the streets, or in a place appointed for divine worship. When a few persons came to hear, it was no easy matter to fix their attention. Some would be talking; others laughing at the novelty of the things spoken; others smoking their pipes; others on coming in and going out, would pass through the same ceremonies they perform in the temples of their gods. They did these things, probably, more from habit and

<sup>a</sup> Milne's Retrospect, p. 102.—Panoplist, vol. ii. p. 84.—Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 126, 245.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxii. p. 445; vol. xxiii. p. 81.



ignorance, than from intentional disrespect to the word of God; but from whatever cause it proceeded, the effect on the mind of the speaker was nearly the same. The few, indeed, who attended regularly, became, after a short time, remarkably decorous and attentive; and after sometime, the missionaries had the pleasure of baptizing a young man from Canton, as the first-fruits of the mission to Malacca.<sup>b</sup>

In November 1818, the foundation stone was laid of an Institution called the Anglo-Chinese College, the chief object of which is the cultivation of Chinese and English literature, and the diffusion of Christianity. To this institution Dr. Morrison, with great liberality, devoted one thousand pounds for the erection of the buildings, and he promised a further sum of L.100 annually, for the first five years, commencing from the opening of the Institution. The number of students in the College, by the last accounts, amounted to seventeen. Chinese, Malay, and Siamese masters were employed in it, either as teachers, or in transcribing books for the use of the Institution.<sup>c</sup>

In 1819, three other branches of the Chinese and Malay mission were begun, one in Prince of Wales' Island, another in Java, and a third at Singapore, a town situated on a small island at the

<sup>b</sup> Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 309, 351, 371, 373, 377, 410, 413.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxiv. p. 312, 450; vol. xxvi. p. 174; vol. xxvii. p. 210.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 22.—Milne's Retrospect, p. 164, 177.

<sup>c</sup> Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 397; vol. ii. p. 306.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 48.



southern extremity of the Malayan peninsula. Similar plans were pursued at the various stations, as at Malacca: the whole, indeed, are considered merely as branches of one mission, called the Ultra-Ganges mission. The gospel was preached in Chinese and Malay: in Chinese in three dialects, the Canton, the Fokien, and the Mandarin. There were also public services in Dutch and English. Besides the Holy Scriptures, other publications of nearly forty different kinds, to the number of more than one hundred and fifty thousand, were printed and very extensively circulated. The attention paid to the education of the children, had begun to secure to the missionaries the confidence of their parents; and though the number of scholars was not equal to those in the schools in India, still it was not inconsiderable. Into these schools religious instruction was generally introduced.<sup>d</sup>

In June 1822, the Ultra-Ganges mission sustained a severe loss in the death of Dr. Milne. He had long been in a declining state of health, in consequence of his incessant and multiplied labours in the establishment of this important and interesting mission. His excellent wife had died some years before; and he now left behind him four orphan children to bewail his loss.<sup>e</sup> Dr. Milne was obviously a man of vigorous intellectual endowments, and his "Retrospect of the first ten years of the Protestant mission to China," is one of the few valuable missionary publications which we possess. In his dying moments he did not experience those joys and raptures with which some

<sup>d</sup> Milne's Retrospect, p. 295. <sup>e</sup> Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 287.



are favoured at that trying season; but the evidence of Christian character which results from the general tenor of a man's life, is far more satisfactory than that which arises from the particular expressions he employs in the prospect of death.

## SECTION VI.

### DEMERARA.

IN December 1807, Mr. John Wray sailed from England for Demerara, in consequence of the request of Mr. Post, a pious and respectable Dutch planter in that colony. Immediately upon his arrival, he had an opportunity of beginning his labours at Le Resouvenir, the estate of that gentleman. From the very first, the negroes discovered a readiness to attend on the preaching of the gospel. Some came from different plantations in the neighbourhood, and some from a town eight miles distant. Mr. Wray's congregation increased so much, that it soon became necessary to erect a place of worship for their accommodation. The number of people whom he had an opportunity of instructing amounted nearly to six hundred. Perhaps a more attentive audience was never seen. Every individual hung on the lips of the preacher, and seemed anxious to drink in the word. A considerable number of them appeared impressed with concern about their souls, and a great reformation took place among them. Scarcely a day passed, but three or four came to Mr. Wray to learn what they should do to be saved. Others



asked him important questions concerning the doctrines of religion. Some who used to be intoxicated twice or thrice a week now became sober, and some whom the whip could not subdue for years, the gospel subdued in a few months. The manager of a neighbouring estate declared, he was astonished at the change which had taken place upon the slaves under his charge. Before they heard the gospel, they were indolent, noisy, rebellious; now they were industrious, quiet, and obedient. Formerly they used to spend three or four nights a week in drumming, dancing, and drinking, to the great annoyance of the neighbourhood, and the injury of their own health; now they employed their leisure hours in giving and receiving religious instruction, or in prayer and praise. Indeed, many who once were ferocious as lions, had now become gentle as lambs.\*

In April 1809, the mission sustained a severe loss in the death of Mr. Post, its principal friend and supporter. He was not only the instrument of originally bringing Mr. Wray to the country; but though he met with much obloquy and opposition, on this account, he persevered in his benevolent design, with unshaken resolution. He was looked upon by many as a fool and a madman; was charged with introducing anarchy, and discontent among the negroes; and was even forbidden by authority, "to hold any riotous meeting of slaves on his estate." He resolved, however, to persevere in the path of duty, to study the salvation of the poor negroes, and to leave the event with God.

\* Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 219, 251.



In the success which attended the mission, Mr. Post took the deepest interest; but while he beheld with delight the power of religion on the negroes of others, he had to lament, that his own slaves were, in general, careless and unconcerned about their souls. Though he gave them every encouragement to attend; yet few of them came, either to learn the catechism, or to hear the word. When he spoke to them on this subject, some of them would say, "Massa, me no jacket, me no hat, no shirt to attend church." But though he supplied them with such articles as they needed, they did not continue to attend long, and as an apology for themselves would say, "Me no do bad; me no thief." He had the pleasure, however, to see a few of them come, and was constantly giving them encouragement. He would converse with them in the most affectionate manner, explain the Scriptures to them, and catechise them on the truths of religion. One day, during his last illness, when one of his oldest negroes, a driver of the name of Mars, came to see him, he said to him, "Mars, how are you?" The old man, thinking that he was inquiring what the people were doing, answered, "Picking cotton, Massa." "I do not," replied Mr. Post, "ask you what you have been doing. Picking cotton is nothing to me now; I have done with that." He then called the old negro to his bedside, took hold of his hand, and bade him farewell, exhorting him to attend the preaching of the word, to come to Christ, and to meet him at the right hand of God, telling him that he must shortly die, and that though he had been his master, there would soon be no distinction between them.



In promoting the great object of the mission, Mr. Post spared no expense. Within little more than a year, his generous exertions in the cause of religion cost him upwards of one thousand pounds sterling, a noble example of Christian liberality, and exercised too at a time, when, in consequence of the failure of successive crops, the state of the colony was very discouraging. With the view of ensuring the benefit of religious instruction to the negroes after his death, he secured to the Missionary Society, the chapel which he had erected, together with a dwelling-house, a garden, and the sum of one hundred pounds a year to the minister.<sup>b</sup>

After the death of Mr. Post, the mission in Demerara continued to flourish; but the enemies of religion in that colony, as well as in several of the West India Islands, succeeded at length in procuring some regulations to be passed, limiting the instruction of the slaves within such hours as amounted nearly to an absolute prohibition of their meeting for religious exercises. Happily, however, these restrictions were of short duration. In consequence of a representation from the Missionary Society, the British government transmitted an order to the governor of Demerara, (copies of which were also sent to several other colonies,) that the slaves should be allowed to meet every Lord's day, for instruction, from five in the morning to nine in the evening; and on other days, from seven to nine in the evening, provided they had the permission of their respective masters.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Evan. Mag. vol. xix. p. 41, 47.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1809, p. 26.—Ibid. 1810, p. 26.

<sup>c</sup> Rep. Miss. Soc. 1812, p. 9, 40.



Besides the missionary establishment at Le Re-souvenir, another was formed by Mr. Davies at George Town, a place about eight miles distant. Here he erected a large chapel which was attended by great numbers of negroes. Not fewer than 5000 in rotation attended on his instructions, some of them from a distance of fifty miles. A great reformation took place among them; and a number of them it was hoped experienced the renovating influence of divine truth upon their heart. Mr. Elliot, another missionary, who for a considerable time laboured at George Town, afterwards directed his attention chiefly to the west coast of Demerara, where his exertions also appeared to be crowned with much success. Scarcely a Sabbath passed without some of the negroes offering themselves as candidates for baptism: there was at the same time a great improvement in the morals of many of them. One might travel among the estates for several miles, and instead of the song of the drunkard, hear only the songs of Zion.<sup>d</sup>

## SECTION VII.

### MADAGASCAR.

IN February 1818, Messrs. Thomas Bevan and David Jones sailed from England for the island of Madagascar. On their arrival, they met with a singularly favourable reception from the inhabitants;

<sup>d</sup> Evan. Mag. vol. xxii. p. 160, 296; vol. xxvi. p. 179; vol. xxvii. p. 37.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1817, p. 35.



but it was not long till death made terrible havock in their families. The first who died was Mr. Jones' infant daughter; about a fortnight after, his wife followed her into the world of spirits, and he himself was extremely ill at the same time. Mr. Bevan, who in the meanwhile, was at the Mauritius, determined to leave that island and return to Madagascar. He was strongly advised not to do so at that unhealthy season of the year; but as he thought himself useless where he was, while he was unavoidably incurring great expenses, he repaired thither. A fortnight after his arrival, his child died, eleven days after, he himself followed it to the grave; and four days after, his wife also was removed into the eternal world. Thus, in about seven weeks, no fewer than five individuals connected with the mission, passed from time into eternity. Notwithstanding these distressing circumstances, Mr. Jones determined to stand by his post; but in consequence of the decline of his health, and other painful occurrences, he was at length compelled to return to the Mauritius.<sup>a</sup>

In September 1820, Mr. Jones again returned to Madagascar in company with Mr. Hastie, a gentleman sent from the Mauritius by Governor Farquhar, to negotiate with Radama, the king of Ova, for the abolition of the slave trade in his dominions. On arriving at Tananarivoe the capital, they found that prince extremely anxious for the civilization and improvement of his subjects, and while he acceded to this important measure, he stipulated that ten

<sup>a</sup> Evan. Mag. vol. xxi. p. 142; vol. xxvii. p. 386.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1819, p. 85, 131.—Ibid. 1820, p. 95.



Malegache boys should be sent to the Mauritius, and other ten to England, to be instructed in useful arts, a distinction which the people were extremely anxious to obtain for their sons. He was, in fact, so anxious for the instruction of his subjects, that he not only gave every encouragement to Mr. Jones to settle in the country, but wrote himself to the Missionary Society requesting them to send out more missionaries, provided there was among them a proportion of artificers to instruct his people in the arts of civilization, as well as in the principles of Christianity. Radama even allotted to him one of the royal houses as his residence, with servants to attend upon him. Mr. Jones had not long resided at this place, before the king placed under his care, a number of native children for the purpose of receiving an English education. Three of these were the children of his sister, one of whom was heir apparent to the crown: the others were the children of different nobles. A separate school was afterwards established for the education of the children of the more respectable classes. The king was so anxious for the instruction of his people, that he sent for parents, and desired them to place their children under the care of the missionaries.<sup>b</sup>

In August 1821, the Rev. John Jeffreys, accompanied by four artisans sailed from England for Madagascar. On their arrival, the king received them in the most gracious manner; and he immediately directed that a piece of land should be allotted to the artisans, on which they might erect houses

<sup>b</sup> Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 92, 95, 126.—Rep. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 93.—Ibid. 1822, p. 127.—Evan. Mag. vol. xxix. p. 531.—Ibid. vol. i. (N. S.) p. 74.



and workshops, and that each of them should have two apprentices, and a boy as a servant. About two thousand men were employed in levelling the ground, and in erecting houses for them; and in the course of two or three days the work was completed.<sup>c</sup> Notwithstanding the unfavourable commencement of this mission, it has now assumed a very promising aspect, and we trust, that the hopes to which it has given rise will not be disappointed.

### SECTION VIII.

#### GENERAL STATEMENT.

BESIDES the missions of which we have given an account, the London Missionary Society sent missionaries to Newfoundland, to Tobago, to Trinidad, to Berbice, to Buenos Ayres, to Canada, to New Brunswick, to Malta, to Zante, to the Bullom Shore in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, to the Mauritius, to Joanna one of the Comoro islands, to Sarepta, and Selinginsk in the Russian Empire, to Ceylon, to the Burman Empire, to Java, to Amboyna; but as some of these missions were to people who professed themselves Christians, they do not come within the design of this work, and as others of them present no details of particular interest, we do not think it necessary to notice them in this place.\*

<sup>c</sup> Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 126.—Evan. Mag. vol. i. (N. S.) p. 73.

\* A brief account of the latter class of these missions will be found in the Appendix.



In order, however, to give some idea of the extent of the operations of the London Missionary Society, we subjoin the following table of the missions which it has established among the heathen. \*

| ASIA. |                          | AFRICA. |                               |
|-------|--------------------------|---------|-------------------------------|
|       | INDIA.                   |         | WESTERN AFRICA.               |
| 1798  | Chinsurah.               | 1797    | <i>Bullom Shore.</i>          |
| 1804  | Travancore.              |         |                               |
| 1804  | Vizigapatam.             |         | SOUTHERN AFRICA.              |
| 1804  | Madras.                  | 1798    | <i>Caffraria.</i>             |
| 1809  | Bellary.                 | 1798    | <i>Zak River.</i>             |
| 1812  | <i>Ganjam.</i>           | 1800    | Cape Town.                    |
| 1815  | Surat.                   | 1801    | <i>Waggon Makers' Valley.</i> |
| 1816  | Calcutta.                |         |                               |
| 1819  | Bangalore.               | 1801    | Stellenbosch.                 |
| 1819  | Benares.                 | 1801    | <i>Bosjesveld.</i>            |
| 1820  | Belgaum.                 | 1801    | Griqua Town.                  |
| 1821  | Quilon.                  |         | <i>Rodezand.</i>              |
|       | BURMAH.                  | 1803    | Bethelsdorp.                  |
| 1809  | <i>Rangoon.</i>          | 1804    | <i>Pella.</i>                 |
|       | CHINA.                   | 1804    | <i>Kamiesberg.</i>            |
| 1807  | Macao.                   | 1811    | Caledon Institution.          |
|       | MALACCA.                 | 1813    | Pacaltsdorp.                  |
| 1815  | Malacca.                 | 1814    | Theopolis.                    |
|       | PRINCE OF WALES' ISLAND. | 1814    | <i>Gracehill.</i>             |
| 1819  | George Town. }           | 1814    | <i>Bethesda.</i>              |
| 1819  | James Town. }            | 1814    | Bethany.                      |
| 1819  | SINGAPORE.               | 1815    | <i>Jerusalem.</i>             |
|       | CEYLON.                  | 1815    | Lattakoo.                     |
| 1804  | <i>Colombo.</i>          | 1816    | <i>Steinkopff.</i>            |
| 1804  | <i>Point de Galle.</i>   | 1816    | <i>Hephzibah.</i>             |
| 1804  | <i>Matura.</i>           | 1816    | <i>Cat River, Caffraria.</i>  |
| 1804  | <i>Jaffanapatnam.</i>    | 1819    | Paarl.                        |
|       | JAVA.                    | 1819    | Tulbagh.                      |
| 1813  | Batavia.                 | 1820    | Campbell.                     |
| 1813  | <i>Samarang.</i>         |         |                               |
| 1813  | AMBOYNA.                 |         | MADAGASCAR.                   |
|       | RUSSIA.                  | 1818    | Tananarivoe.                  |
| 1817  | Selinginsk.              |         |                               |
| 1819  | <i>Sarepta.</i>          | 1821    | JOANNA.                       |

\* Those stations which are printed in Italics have been given up.



| AMERICA. |                       | POLYNESIA. |                          |
|----------|-----------------------|------------|--------------------------|
| 1806     | <i>BUENOS AYRES.</i>  | 1796       | <i>OTAHEITE.</i>         |
|          | <i>DEMERARA.</i>      | 1796       | <i>Matavai.</i>          |
| 1807     | <i>Le Resouvenir.</i> | 1796       | <i>Wilk's Harbour.</i>   |
|          | <i>George Town.</i>   | 1796       | <i>Burder's Place.</i>   |
|          | <i>West Coast.</i>    | 1796       | <i>Papara.</i>           |
| 1808     | <i>TOBAGO.</i>        | 1796       | <i>TONGATABOO.</i>       |
|          |                       | 1796       | <i>ST. CHRISTINA.</i>    |
|          |                       |            | <i>EIMEO.</i>            |
| 1809     | <i>TRINIDAD.</i>      | 1811       | <i>Roby's Place.</i>     |
|          |                       | 1818       | <i>HUAHEINE.</i>         |
|          | <i>BERBICE.</i>       | 1818       | <i>RAIATEA.</i>          |
| 1813     | <i>New Amsterdam.</i> | 1820       | <i>BORABORA.</i>         |
|          |                       |            | <i>TAHA.</i>             |
|          |                       | 1822       | <i>SANDWICH ISLANDS.</i> |

Those stations which are printed in Italics have been given up.



## CHAPTER TENTH.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE SCOTTISH  
MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

## SECTION I.

## SUSOO COUNTRY.

IN February 1796, was instituted the Edinburgh, or, as it is now called the Scottish Missionary Society, consisting of members of the Church of Scotland, and of other denominations of Christians. Soon after its formation, the Directors resolved to commence their operations by a mission to the Foulah country, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone, in conjunction with the London and Glasgow Missionary Societies, each of which agreed to furnish two missionaries for that purpose.

In September 1797, Messrs. Henry Brunton and Peter Greig, the two missionaries from Edinburgh, set off from that city, with Peter Ferguson and Robert Graham from Glasgow; and on their arrival in London, they were joined by Alexander Russel and George Cappe. Scarcely, however, had they met, when several of them manifested a disposition to differ particularly with Mr. Brunton. Before they had even left England, violent disputes arose among them, on a variety of theological points, some of them merely verbal differences, and



in the course of the voyage, such a scene of wrangling, bitterness, and malignity, was exhibited by them as surpasses description. Though Mr. Brunton was unquestionably to blame for the objectionable manner in which he expressed his sentiments, and for the unhallowed temper he manifested in the course of these unhappy disputes; yet he soon became sensible of his error, offered to make every reasonable concession, and was anxious for a reconciliation. But as those who are most culpable, are generally the least placable, the missionaries from the other societies rejected all his overtures of peace, and insisted on terms which no man could grant in consistency with honesty and truth. They even proceeded formally to expel him from their society, and would not for some time, allow him to engage with them in the most ordinary religious exercises. Though we cannot entirely exculpate Mr. Brunton, yet the cruel treatment he received from his brethren, must be admitted as a strong apology for him: the numerous indignities which were thrown upon him from day to day, irritated his temper to a degree he had never experienced before: they were such, indeed, as human nature in its present imperfect and corrupted state, could scarcely be expected to endure with meekness, patience, and humility. In the midst of these unhappy disputes, Mr. Greig was the only one of the missionaries who manifested much of the influence of Christian principle: he took no share in differences where both parties were manifestly wrong; but what was unquestionably better, he took the side of peace. If he was to blame at all, it was in not standing more firmly and boldly by Mr. Brunton,



convinced as he was of the cruelty and injustice with which he was treated by the other missionaries. Such circumstances as these, furnish Christian missionaries with a striking lesson of the necessity of cultivating toward each other a spirit of charity, forbearance, meekness, and love. As they go on an embassy of peace, they are apt to take it for granted, that among themselves there will be nothing but harmony and affection. By this means they are thrown off their guard; they are not sufficiently attentive to those circumstances, many of them trifling in themselves, which are necessary to the cultivation of mutual attachment, nor to avoid those things which may prove offensive to one another. Before they are aware, coldness, perhaps, even dislike, has taken the place of affection; little differences, and little jealousies arise among them, which, if candidly stated at first, might have been easily removed, but being allowed to remain unexplained, they at length burst forth in an open rupture. Dissensions among missionaries have been but too common occurrences, yet they are more to be dreaded than death. Few things tend more to blast their usefulness among the heathen, to injure their own spiritual interests, and to destroy their private happiness.<sup>a</sup>

In consequence of these dissensions, and of the path to the Foulah country being shut, owing to a war between that people and some of their neighbours, it was judged expedient on the arrival of the missionaries at Sierra Leone, that they should

<sup>a</sup> Miss. Mag. vol. ii. p. 473; vol. iii. p. 137.—Letters in the possession of the Scottish Missionary Society, MS.



separate, and form three distinct establishments. Agreeably to this arrangement, Messrs. Brunton and Greig, were appointed to proceed to the Susoo country, as the scene of their future labours.

In January 1798, Brunton and Greig proceeded to Freeport, a factory on the Rio Pongas, belonging to the Sierra Leone Company, upwards of a hundred miles up the country. Here they remained about ten weeks, spending most of their time among the Susoos in the neighbouring town of Tookerring; but though many of the inhabitants were much attached to them, the chief would not allow them to settle in that place. They, therefore, removed to Kondia, a town about twenty miles further up the country, where Fantimane granted them a settlement, after it had been refused by every other chief to whom they had made application. The head men were jealous, it seems, that the White people wished to take their country; that a few would settle among them at first under fair pretences, and make way for others to join them, until they at last completed their design.<sup>b</sup>

About the beginning of the rainy season, both the missionaries fell sick. Mr. Brunton, after bathing one morning in the river, fainted in the woods, and felt strong symptoms of fever about him; but by means of some medicines which he used, the disorder abated in a few days, and he hoped it had taken a favourable turn. Mr. Greig, who was much fatigued with sitting up with him in the night, now began to complain; and as he had a custom of

<sup>b</sup> Letters in the possession of the Scottish Missionary Society, MS.—Account of the Mission to the Susoo country, by Mr. Brunton, in the Author's possession, p. 1. MS.



lying down in any place which might strike his fancy, when any thing was the matter with him, Mr. Brunton was afraid he might lie down in this manner, and not be able to rise again. One night the event justified his fears. Having inquired for his colleague as diligently as he could about the dusk of the evening, he could hear nothing of him; and therefore he asked Mr. Welch, a slave trader, to send his people in search of him. They found him lying on a bank of the river unable to rise; and he would undoubtedly have perished in this situation, had not assistance been sent to him. This was the beginning of a fever, which lasted about three weeks; and during the greater part of that time, he was speechless, or if he did happen to speak a little, what he said was no more than sufficient to shew that he was delirious. During Mr. Greig's illness, Mr. Brunton's fever became evidently intermittent. Between the paroxysms, he was for the most part able to crawl from his own apartment to his colleague's; but as the ague returned regularly every night, it was not in his power to sit up with him. He offered to pay any of the negro women whatever they might choose to demand, as soon as he was able to procure goods; but they always asked, whether he would die; and, shuddering at the thought of this, declined the proposal. Mr. Brunton had then no alternative, but to sit up with him every evening, as long as he was able, and to rise in the middle of the night in a burning fever, and to crawl into his apartment to see how he was. Sometimes he found him in a very melancholy condition. Often the rain was pouring in upon him, while he knew nothing of it;



for the house admitted a deluge of water, both above and below. Once Mr. Brunton found him fallen out of bed, and lying apparently motionless among the water, which had come in beneath the walls, and overflowed the floor. It required all the exertion he could make to put him into bed again; but how to secure him in it was beyond his invention. He could do nothing, but rise as usual, and see how he was doing. About the dawn of day, Mr. Brunton was astonished to see him sitting in the door of his apartment, under circumstances of a very distressing nature. One of the negroes, however, came in, and put him into bed. At other times, when Mr. Brunton was unable to rise, the natives found him out of bed, and trying to get out of the house. At length, however, he became so weak, as to be unable to move.<sup>c</sup>

Mr. Brunton now began to be much alarmed about him. The boys who lodged with him seemed afraid of his dying, and were averse to sleep in the same apartment with him. Indeed, though it was the best in the house, it was too bad even for the meanest animal. So long as the weather was dry, they had no idea that it would admit the water in the manner it did. They had begun, indeed, to get it repaired; but they were taken ill at that very time. It had no windows, but only two holes, without either glass or boards. The tornadoes were often dreadful beyond description. Trees sufficient to crush their old crazy habitation were blown down close to it. The whole heavens seemed sometimes in a blaze of lightning, while the

<sup>c</sup> MS. Account by Mr. Brunton, p. 8.



awful peals of thunder added to the horror of the scene. Several, if not all, of the boys, went and sought more comfortable lodgings; but poor Mr. Greig could not leave the house for the most awful storm. One night, when Mr. Brunton rose to see how he was, he could discern no life in him; and though he could not have said positively that he was dead, yet he was rather inclined to think this was the case. At that time, he could call no one to his assistance; and he was obliged to lie down, and leave him alone: his own fever distracted his brain. "Few circumstances in my life," says he, "have left a stronger impression on my mind, than those now related. A bird, which ushered in the day with its melodious notes, is fresh in my memory. Indeed, it fixed itself in such a happy situation every morning, that I was sometimes almost led to think it was a kind of messenger from heaven, sent to cheer me in my dreary residence."<sup>d</sup>

From this dangerous illness, Mr. Greig happily recovered; but he was now deprived of his colleague, Mr. Brunton, who settled for the present at Freetown, as chaplain to the colony, and was able only occasionally to visit the Susoo country. Solitary, however, as he was, he prosecuted his labours among the natives with great diligence and zeal. He used to deal very plainly with them, and to reprove them for their sins in the most pointed manner. The Susoos heard him with great attention, and it even became fashionable to attend to religion; but there was no ground to think that

<sup>d</sup> MS. Account by Mr. Brunton. p. 14.



any of them were really convinced of the evil of sin, or that they received the truth in the love of it. Their attention to the Sabbath, and their laying aside several things of which the missionaries disapproved, proceeded, it was to be feared, chiefly from their respect for them, and not from the influence of religion on their heart. On the whole, the mission was beginning to assume a promising appearance, when a period was unexpectedly put to it by the death of Mr. Greig.<sup>e</sup>

In January 1800, seven men of the Foulah nation, who were travelling through the country, came to pay him a visit. Mr. Greig treated them with the greatest kindness; and with the view, probably, of recommending the gospel to them, he amused them by shewing them a number of European articles which he had in his possession. In this manner, they spent the evening very cheerfully together; and as a further expression of friendship, he allowed three of them to sleep in his house. This act of kindness, however, proved fatal to himself. To the chief man among them, Mr. Greig had given a razor, and when he was sound asleep, the ungrateful wretch arose and attempted to cut his throat. His friendly host struggled so hard, that he was unable to effect his purpose, upon which he seized an axe, and struck him on the temples. After knocking him down, he stabbed him with a cutlass, and then cut his throat from ear to ear. Having accomplished his bloody purpose, he and his companions carried off whatever

<sup>e</sup> Letters in the possession of the Scot. Miss. Soc. MS.—MS. Account by Mr. Brunton, p. 18.



parts of his property they deemed valuable. The whole seems to have been effected with little noise, for though some of the boys under Mr. Greig's care, were in the house, none of them appear to have been awake except one, on whose testimony the preceding account chiefly rests, and who was so frightened that he endeavoured to conceal himself as quietly as possible. Fantimanee, who had taken Mr. Greig under his protection, was extremely sorry at his death, and he, together with some others of the Susoo chiefs, endeavoured to apprehend the murderers, and it was reported that they had taken two of them in the Foulah country. Several persons of that nation were detected carrying away his property about the time he was murdered. They were put in irons, and carried to Freeport; the Susoos were so enraged at them, that it was with difficulty they were prevented from falling upon them, and putting them to death.<sup>f</sup>

After the murder of his pious colleague, Mr. Brunton was obliged to leave the coast of Africa, as his constitution was already materially injured, and threatened soon to sink under the wasting effects of the climate. On his return to Scotland, he published several works in the Susoo language;<sup>g</sup> and on the restoration of his health, he set off on a new mission to the countries in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea.

<sup>f</sup> Letter from Mr. Brunton, March 1800, in the possession of the Scot. Miss. Soc.—MS. Account by Mr. Brunton, p. 27.

<sup>g</sup> Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, vol. i. p. 82, 141.



## SECTION II.

## TARTARY.

IN April 1802, the Rev. Henry Brunton and Mr. Alexander Paterson, sailed from Leith on an exploratory mission to the countries lying between the Black and the Caspian Seas. Having obtained permission from the Russian Government to settle in Tartary, they, after visiting different parts of the country, resolved to take up their residence in a village called Karass, containing upwards of five hundred inhabitants, all of whom were Mahomedans. It was situated in about  $44^{\circ}$  North latitude, and  $42^{\circ}$  East longitude, at about an equal distance from the Caspian and the Black Seas. Here they obtained a grant of land from the Russian government, by whom they appear to have been considered in the character of colonists as much as that of missionaries, and they were afterwards joined by a number of other individuals from Scotland, who were sent to assist them in their labours. <sup>a</sup>

In the summer of 1804, the plague began to make its appearance in the neighbourhood of Karass; but as the Mahomedans, from their abuse of the doctrine of predestination, seldom think of going out of the way of that dreadful disorder, or using any precautions against it, so they were at great pains to conceal its approach both from the missionaries and the Russians. Some of the chiefs

<sup>a</sup> Religious Monitor, vol. i. p. 35, 155; vol. iii. p. 189.—  
Report of the Edinburgh Missionary Society, 1817, p. 41.



even threatened to put any person to death, who should inform the missionaries of it ; and when the Russian general sent some officers with a party of Cossacks, to inquire concerning it, the Tartars positively denied that they knew any thing about it, though at that very moment it was raging in a village at no great distance. Besides, war now broke out between the Russians and the Kabardians. Many of the former were in various places murdered by the latter ; and though they repeatedly came to an agreement, yet the barbarians were so regardless of their oaths, that they broke them the first opportunity. These disastrous events could not fail to create the missionaries much anxiety and distress. Every day brought them new and alarming reports. The whole family, men, women, and children, sometimes slept with their clothes on, ready to fly in case of danger ; and more than once, the dread of an immediate attack drove them to the woods. On one occasion, a plundering party of Kabardians carried off three of their horses ; and, it was said, they expressed a strong desire to get the native children into their possession. In consequence of these circumstances, the missionaries judged it expedient to leave Karass for the present, and to retire to Georghievsk, a Russian fort, about thirty-two versts distant. It is scarcely possible to conceive the concern which the inhabitants of the village manifested at their departure. Nine Tartars, with carts, went with them to the fort, and Islam Ghery, the sultan, who had uniformly shewn himself their warm and decided friend, accompanied them almost the whole way. <sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Relig. Mon. vol. ii. p. 467.



Agreeably to a favourite plan of Mr. Brunton's, the missionaries began, at an early period, to ransom some of the Tartars, who were in a state of slavery, particularly some young persons, with the view of training them up from their early years in the principles of religion, and teaching them the useful arts of life, by which means, they hoped, Christianity would be most effectually propagated in the country.<sup>c</sup> \* Several of the ransomed after sometime professed to embrace the gospel; and were baptized in the name of Christ.<sup>d</sup> Among the converts to Christianity, Katte Ghery, the son of one of the Sultans of the country, deserves particular notice. He was lineally descended from the Khans of the Crimea, and was allied to some of the principal families in the East. Interested by his fine appearance, his superior talents, and his engaging manners, Mr. Brunton, on becoming acquainted with him, was eager to instruct him in the principles of Christianity; and though he long hesitated between the gospel of Christ and the religion of Mahommed, he, at length, openly avowed his belief of Christianity, and, from that period, he was steadfast in the profession of it, notwithstanding the persecution he suffered from his relations, and the derision with which he was loaded by his acquaintance. Some of the chiefs even

<sup>c</sup> Relig. Mon. vol. ii. p. 115; vol. iii. p. 470; vol. iv. p. 151; vol. v. p. 89.

<sup>d</sup> Relig. Mon. vol. iv. p. 116; vol. v. p. 273; vol. vi. p. 43.

\* The plan of ransoming slaves was afterwards relinquished by the Society. It was considered by them as affording encouragement to the slave trade, and while it proved a source of endless trouble, it was by no means attended with the successful result which had been anticipated.



threatened to kill him, unless he returned to the faith of his ancestors ; on other occasions, they endeavoured to gain him by the liberality of their promises : but neither promises nor threatenings, neither harsh nor gentle treatment, made any impression upon him. He was not merely stedfast in his adherence to the Christian faith ; he was also zealous in spreading it among his countrymen. He lost no opportunity of recommending it to their attention ; he boldly defended it when it was attacked ; he argued even with the Mollahs and Effendis, and laboured to expose their absurd opinions, and their wicked practices, to the view of the poor deluded people. <sup>e</sup>

In May 1806, Mr. Mitchell one of the missionaries proceeded from Karass to Petersburg, with the view of obtaining from the Russian government certain privileges which were considered as of essential importance to the prosperity of the settlement. Soon after their arrival, the missionaries had obtained a grant of land from government, and, at their desire, a person had been lately sent to Karass, to measure off the ground which they had chosen, amounting in all to six thousand dessatines, or about 16,200 acres. Of this, a topographical description was transmitted to the minister of the interior at St. Petersburg, and in connexion with this grant of land, various immunities were conferred now upon them. By one article, it was declared, that they should be exempted from all personal and landed taxes and

<sup>e</sup> Relig. Mon. vol. i. p. 279, 392 ; vol. ii. p. 115 ; vol. iv. p. 149, 152 ; vol. v. p. 88, 421 ; vol. vi. p. 95, 186, 471 ; vol. vii. p. 229, 272 ; vol. x. p. 313 ; vol. xi. p. 418.



charges whatever, for the space of thirty years; that, at the expiration of that period, they should pay yearly fifteen copecks for each dessatine of land fit for cultivation; that, in future, they should be subject to no other public charges and imposts whatever; and that they should be for ever exempted from civil and military service, and also from military quarters. By another article, it was provided, that the internal affairs of the settlers, respecting religion, the management of their land, their property, and their police, should always be subject to their own direction, or that of a committee chosen by them; and that this committee should have the power of granting passports to all members of the settlement, who wished either to travel into the interior of the empire, or to leave the country. This last was a privilege which had never been granted to any foreign colonists but themselves. The exemption from taxes for thirty years was double the period that any other settlement enjoyed; and while the United Brethren at Sarepta pay for every dessatine of land they have, whether good or bad, the missionaries at Karass are to pay only for those parts which are fit for cultivation.<sup>f</sup> It may, however, be remarked, that the grant of land to the missionaries gave great disgust to the natives, who very naturally considered themselves as the rightful proprietors.

In April 1809, the missionaries received a message from a Sonna prince, requesting them to send some persons to instruct his people in the principles of the Christian religion. The Sonna country lies about seven days' journey from Karass, and is

<sup>f</sup> Relig. Mon. vol. iv. p. 153, 311, 349.



said to contain upwards of fifty villages or towns, and about two hundred thousand inhabitants, who, are professed Christians. They believe, we are told, in one God, and in Jesus Christ, as their only King and Saviour. They pray that God would bless them for Christ's sake, and continue to them the privileges which their forefathers enjoyed. They baptize their children four or five days after their birth, by washing them all over the body. They devote the Sabbath to the exercises of religion; and when they swear, they wish that they may be turned to the left hand of Christ at the day of judgment, should their oath be false. In their churches, they have images, some of which, they say, were formed by the power of God. In one of them, there is the image of a young horse, which, according to them, was produced in this miraculous manner. They have likewise, in their places of worship, a number of large books, which their priests read, but do not pretend to explain, their religious services consisting chiefly of singing and praying. Their priests are allowed to marry; and when they officiate in public, they are arrayed in long garments, richly ornamented with silver and gold. They inoculate their children with the small-pox, on the crown of the head. From these circumstances, the missionaries concluded, that the Sonnas were Greek Christians, and that, probably, they had once belonged to the Georgian church, though now they find fault with it. They had long been anxious to visit them, with the view of learning, more particularly, the state of religion among them, and in the hope of being useful to them. Mr. Paterson had already made an attempt to penetrate into that part of the country,



but was obliged to return without accomplishing his design ; and, from the distracted state of the neighbouring tribes, it was at present deemed unadvisable to renew the attempt. <sup>g</sup>

Besides the Sonnas, there were various other tribes in the neighbouring mountains who made a profession of Christianity ; but during the last century their numbers have greatly diminished, many of them having been compelled at the point of the sword to embrace Mahomedanism ; and those who had so lately been proselyted themselves, were now endeavouring with a blind impetuous zeal, to convert their neighbours to the faith of the false prophet. The religion of others of the mountain tribes, appeared to consist of a mixture of Christianity and heathenism. In many parts of the country, there are ruins of churches, and sepulchral monuments built of stone, which indicate not only the former prevalence of Christianity ; but a higher degree of civilization, than at present exists in this quarter of the world. <sup>h</sup>

In March 1813, Mr. Brunton died, after a painful illness of several weeks. Happy should we be, could we have spoken of his character and conduct with unqualified approbation ; but though he was unquestionably a man of a vigorous understanding, and possessed a great facility in acquiring languages, as well as various other qualities which fitted him to be a useful missionary among the Heathen, yet it cannot be denied, that there were faults in his character, which more than counterbalanced these

<sup>g</sup> Relig. Mon. vol. iv. p. 269, 271 ; vol. vi. p. 138, 187 ; vol. vii. p. 465, 568.

<sup>h</sup> Relig. Mon. vol. ii. p. 115, 117, 350 ; vol. iv. p. 269 ; vol. vii. p. 569 ; vol. viii. p. 268 ; vol. xv. p. 307.



excellencies; and, indeed, towards the close of his life, his conduct was a disgrace to the sacred cause in which he was engaged. It is painful to record such circumstances, but impartiality demands it of us. Let not the infidel triumph in the fall of poor Brunton; let the Christian shed a tear over his memory; and “let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.”<sup>i</sup>

Besides writing various tracts, Mr. Brunton had long been engaged in translating the New Testament into the Turkish language, or rather into what has been called the Tartar-Turkish, which, it is supposed, is understood over a more extensive tract of country than any other language of Asia. In carrying on this work, he derived essential assistance from the translation of the New Testament in Turkish, by Dr. Lazarus Seaman, which was published in England about the middle of the seventeenth century. This work he had completed before the commencement of his last illness; and the printing of it was finished a few weeks after his death.<sup>k</sup>

Previous to the death of Mr. Brunton, a number of Germans were received into the settlement as colonists, a measure which could scarcely be expected to be attended with the best effects, especially as many of them were persons of very indifferent character. We apprehend, indeed, that the establishment of a mission in connexion with a colony, will generally be found a very unadvisable measure, especially if those at the head of it, are in

<sup>i</sup> Relig. Mon. vol. xi. p. 228.

<sup>k</sup> Relig. Mon. vol. i. p. 278; vol. iii. p. 30; vol. xi. p. 308.

—Scottish Missionary Register, vol. i. p. 433.



the equivocal character of missionaries and colonists. Both schemes, it is not improbable, will fail; or, if the colony prosper, it is likely to be at the expense of the mission, as spiritual concerns are even apt to be sacrificed to secular pursuits. We do not mean that any such process took place at Karass: the fact is, other causes, some of them of a very painful nature, had hitherto prevented the prosperity both of the colony and of the mission.

Though Karass was some years ago abandoned by the Tartars, yet there are still numbers of that people resident in the neighbourhood. To these, however, the missionaries do not confine their labours: they also make excursions to a considerable distance among the Tartars in the surrounding country. When, however, they go among them, it must not be supposed that they have congregations of hearers, such as are to be found in Christian countries, to whom they make known the message of salvation. When a Missionary enters a village, he may perhaps meet at one place a dozen of Tartars, sitting basking in the sun, some of them employed in cutting sticks, while others of them are fast asleep. After the usual salutations are past, they consider themselves as at perfect liberty to pass the time as before, though they know he has come for the express purpose of instructing them. They listen to him, or talk among themselves, or go away just as they please. Sometimes the Missionary begins to speak to a solitary individual; in a short time, four or five others, or even a greater number will collect around him. Some of these remain only a few minutes, while others come in their place; and thus, in the course of an hour or two, the



audience, if it may be so called, changes, perhaps, several successive times. In this way, the number of persons who hear the Gospel may be considerable; but the knowledge they acquire of it, must, in most instances, be very imperfect, as the statements of divine truth which they hear, are, of necessity, extremely partial and unconnected. Though the Missionaries are, in general, received in a friendly manner by the Tartars, both at a distance, and in their own immediate neighbourhood, yet sometimes they are entreated to go away, and not to trouble them with such matters; their ears are often assailed with blasphemous expressions against the Sonship of Christ, his mediation, intercession, and sufferings. It is evident, indeed, that most of them do not wish to hear the Gospel at all; and it is seldom that any one desires to hear it with a view to spiritual benefit. If at any time an individual seems to listen with attention, and to be impressed with the truth, he is viewed by his countrymen as on the brink of a precipice, and is speedily warned of his danger. The Mollahs and Effendis seldom oppose the Missionaries in the presence of the people, because they commonly find, that when discussions take place, they have the worst of the argument; but it is said that in private they warn their countrymen against them as deceivers. There appears, in short, among the Tartars, an extreme indifference to the things which belong to their everlasting peace; yet it is worthy of notice, that they manifest a similar indifference with respect to their own religion, a state of mind which is probably far more common in Heathen and Mahomedan countries than is generally imagined. Very few of the people attend public



prayers; some do not keep the appointed fasts; and others doubt whether prayers for the dead can be of any benefit, and grudge to pay the fees which are required of them on such occasions; even such as are more ignorant begin to pay little regard to what the Effendis say, as they are convinced that they frequently teach what is wrong, and support falsehood from the Koran, particularly that they often pronounce unjust decisions in the lawsuits which are brought before them. The power of the sword cannot now be exercised, and little attention is paid to exhortation. The Missionaries, indeed, state, that they have reason to think that the Tartars in their immediate neighbourhood, receive more instruction from them than from their own teachers; and it is also worthy of notice, that in the villages which they most frequently visit, they are more apt to get people to listen to them, than in those with which they have had less communication. It is a proof at once of the conscious ignorance of the Tartars and of their indifference to their own religion, that they often say, were the priests and a few of the chiefs to embrace the Gospel, the common people would follow their example to a man. In short, there is a sensible diminution of the bitterness discovered by the natives on having their attention directed to the truths of the gospel. In former times, their eyes, the tone of their voice, their every gesture, bespoke the existence of a bitter, deep rooted hostility, which, the moment it was touched burst forth in angry words, and sometimes in rude behaviour. Traces of this spirit, indeed, are still occasionally found, and of its existence in the hearts of multitudes there can be no doubt; but now the



outward expression of it may be considered as an exception to their general behaviour ; whereas, for years after their arrival, the missionaries could scarcely open their mouths in the name of Jesus without experiencing its effects. There is also a partial abatement of the horror which the common people once felt at the idea of being counted infidels, should they listen to the gospel and abandon the religion of their fathers.<sup>1</sup>

In June 1815, Messrs. Dickson and Mitchell, two of the missionaries, set off from Karass for Astrachan, with the view of commencing a branch of the mission in that city. This they hoped to find not only a more secure and suitable place than Karass for the establishment of the press, but a central situation for the circulation of the works they printed. In the neighbourhood of Astrachan, there are also a number of Tartar villages which have of late been visited by some of the missionaries; but the reception they met with was far from encouraging. Sometimes they found very few of the inhabitants at home; at other times, those whom they did meet would scarcely listen to them. Sometimes they treated their message with mockery and scorn; hooted them with the utmost rudeness and ordered them away; while in one instance, a person who, from the minaret, was at that moment summoning his countrymen to prayers, pronounced on them the bitterest imprecations. On several occasions, however, the Tartars listened with con-

<sup>1</sup> Glen's Journal of a Tour from Astrachan to Karass, p. 218.

—Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 3.—Ibid. 1823, p. 9.



siderable attention, and some who visited Mr. Dickson acquired a pretty extensive acquaintance with the doctrines and precepts of the New Testament; but still they appeared as firm as ever in their belief of the doctrines and precepts of the Koran. It is extremely difficult to fix the attention of Mahomedans on those truths which are best calculated to impress the heart, and which, in the hand of the Holy Spirit, are commonly the instrument of conversion; as the guilt, the depravity, and the misery of man, the insufficiency of his own righteousness to justify him before God, the magnitude of the love of Christ, and the sufficiency of his atonement, the necessity of a change of heart, of faith in Christ, of repentance for sin, the solemnities of death and judgment, and eternity. On whatever subject the Missionaries address them, the Tartars evade the impression which the truth is calculated to make on their minds, by starting objections to the doctrine of the Trinity, or the Sonship of Christ, which prove in a peculiar manner stumbling-blocks, and appear absolute foolishness to the deluded followers of the false prophet.<sup>m</sup>

While some of the missionaries visited the Tartars, Messrs. Glen and M'Pherson, after acquiring the Persic language, directed their particular attention to the Persians in the city of Astrachan. At first the Persians appeared to give them a much more favourable reception than the Tartars. They received them with respect, and so far were they from shunning discussion or pleading their incompe-

<sup>m</sup> Relig. Mon. vol. xii. p. 385; vol. xiii. p. 217, 303, 390, 466; vol. xvi. p. 459.—Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1823, p. 14.—Scot. Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 164, 204, 207.



tency to manage it, as was often done by the Tartars, they appeared to court it: they proposed their objections, and heard the explanations of the missionaries with temper, and even went so far as to allow them to take some of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity for granted, when requested to do so, in order that they might get a view of the superstructure which Christians rear upon them, or the practical purposes to which they apply them. But after some time, when the novelty was over, they were no longer disposed to enter into conversation on the subject of religion, especially as they perceived that it was the design of the missionaries to shake their faith in the principles of Mahomedanism, and to turn them to the profession of Christianity. Most of them, indeed, who at first received them with open arms, now shunned their company, and would scarcely deign to speak with them on the street. Some of the Persians, it may be remarked, particularly one of the Mollahs, displayed very considerable acuteness and ingenuity in disputing on the subject of religion. It is well known that the Mahomedans are commanded by the Koran to fast the whole month of Ramadan, from the time that the new moon first makes its appearance, until the next new moon, during which period they must abstain from eating and drinking, from the dawn of the morning, till the sun set in the evening. One day, in conversation with a very able and ingenious Mollah, the missionaries represented to him the impossibility of observing the fast of Ramadan within the polar circles, when it happened to fall in summer, as the sun is then above the horizon, in some places, for months together.



The Mollah could scarcely believe there was such a place; but if there really were, he had no doubt that God would either pardon his devout worshippers for eating while the sun was above the horizon, or give them a constitution to enable them to live without food. The missionaries, however, insisted on the improbability that a religion, which enjoined an impossibility, should have come from God, especially as the exceptions which it admitted to the general rule, of neither eating nor drinking from the rising to the setting of the sun, were such as human experience shewed to be necessary in such a country as Arabia, while it made no provision for a much stronger case, which, though unknown to Mahommed, was well known to God, and must have been provided for, had the religion of which the fast of Ramadan formed so conspicuous a part come from him as its author. Their principal reason for turning the conversation into this channel, was to show him that Mahomedanism was no more free from difficulties than Christianity; and that as it was much less likely that a thing physically impossible should be enjoined by God, than that there should be mysteries in a revelation respecting the nature and the mode of subsistence of the Deity, the reasons of Christians for rejecting Mahomedanism were much stronger than those of Mahomedans for rejecting Christianity, the external rites of which were practicable in every quarter of the globe, while its mysteries had a reference to points which were obviously beyond the grasp of the human intellect. It did not seem altogether in vain that the missionaries furnished him with a specimen of the ignorance of



Mahommed, and of the equivocal nature of his pretensions; for though still prepared to defend him, he was quite confounded by their statement, and obviously at a loss whether to meet their objection by denying the fact on which it was founded, or by questioning the conclusion deduced from it. But though the Persians in general rejected the counsel of God against themselves, one young man, named Mahommed Ali Beg, appears to be deeply impressed with a sense of his sinfulness and misery, and to have received "the truth in the love of it." Six or eight others have become candid inquirers, of some of whom the missionaries entertain very favourable hopes.<sup>n</sup>

At the same time that the station at Astrachan was begun, Messrs. Fraser and M'Alpine, two others of the missionaries, proceeded to Orenburg, a town to the north of the Caspian Sea, with the view of establishing another branch of the mission in that neighbourhood. This place was the resort of Tartars of every race, and the residence of others, who, as general merchants, carried on an extensive traffic with their countrymen throughout the whole of Asiatic Russia. It was chiefly, however, among the Kirghisians in that neighbourhood, that the missionaries proposed to labour; and by them they were at first received in a very friendly manner; the poor creatures were said to listen to them with singular attention, and two or three of them, after sometime, appeared to be under serious impressions of religion. The language of this tribe

<sup>n</sup> Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 9.—Ibid. 1823. p. 15.—  
Scot. Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 293.



of Tartars, is radically the same as that spoken in the neighbourhood of Karass; but yet it differed from it materially, particularly in the terminations, and the orthography. Mr. Fraser proceeded, therefore, to revise the translation of the New Testament, and to accommodate it to the idiom of the Kirghisians, the Bashkurts, and other tribes in that part of the country. But though bright anticipations were at first formed of this station, these have been entirely blasted. The individuals who were said to be impressed with divine truth, were actuated, it is probable, by sinister motives in the profession which they made; or if their hearts were really impressed, their goodness proved like the morning cloud and the early dew, which passeth away. Few Kirghisians now remain in that part of the country, most of them having been ordered by the governor to retire into the Steppe; and when the missionaries turned their attention to the Tartars resident in Orenburg, they would not receive them, nor listen to any thing they said on the subject of religion. °

In April 1821, the Rev. John Carruthers proceeded from Astrachan to the Crimea, with the view of commencing another branch of the mission in that peninsula, and of establishing a seminary for the education of native teachers. The Sultan Katte Ghery, who had been for sometime in Scotland, had proposed this measure to the Society; and he himself now returned to the land of his fathers, to take part in

° Relig. Mon. vol. xiii. p. 262; vol. xiv. p. 28, 110; vol. xv. p. 57, 308, 387; vol. xvi. p. 22, 203, 467; vol. xvii. p. 61, 219. —Rep. Edin. Miss. Soc. 1816. p. 13.—Ibid. 1818, p. 31, 33.—Ibid. 1823, p. 19.



the execution of the plan ; but, as yet, various circumstances have prevented the establishment of the seminary. Meanwhile, however, Mr. Carruthers took up his residence at Baktchiserai, the ancient capital of the Crimea, and after acquiring the language, he proceeded to itinerate through various parts of the peninsula, making known to the deluded followers of Mahommed, “ the unsearchable riches of Christ.” When he first went among them, he was received in a very friendly manner ; but afterwards his reception by the Tartars in his own neighbourhood was much less favourable. The Mollahs and Effendis, in particular, have abandoned him. It is worthy of notice, that from several circumstances they are much alarmed for their religion. The present important movements in Turkey lead many of them to conclude, that the day of judgment is at hand, and they believe that before that day, Mahomedanism will be almost completely abolished. The chief Effendi wept when he heard of the defeat of the Turks at the straits of Thermopylæ, and seemed to think that the Ottoman empire was hastening to destruction, and carrying along with it the interests of the Mahomedan faith. The priests, however, were not the only persons who avoided him ; the Tartars in general shun him, and very few will even speak with him in the street. The Greeks, it may be added, have all along been unfriendly to him, and since he entered publicly on his labours as a Missionary, they have given ample proofs of their hostility. They will on no account allow him and his family to be Christians, and do not hesitate to represent them to the Tartars as



infidels, and pronounce the books they circulate impositions.<sup>p</sup>

Soon after Mr. Carruthers proceeded to the Crimea, the Rev. George Blyth set off for the Caucasus, accompanied by Mr. Galloway one of the Karass missionaries, with the view of establishing another branch of the mission among the Ossatinians and Inguish, two of the tribes who inhabit that mountainous region. On their arrival at Mosdok, however, they found that most of the Ossatinians had lately been baptized by the Russian priests; but that the Inguish had strenuously resisted the attempts which had been made to impose on them the external badge of Christianity. After various explanations, they received permission from the Commandant of Vladikafkas, to settle at Nazran among the Inguish, and they were led to suppose that no further attempts would be made by the Russian clergy, to proselyte that barbarous people to the profession of Christianity.

Many of the Inguish, had of late years assumed the name of Mahommedans, and Islamism was the only religion of which they spoke with approbation, when this subject happened to be introduced; but by far the greatest part of them pretended to no religion at all. They are a bold, warlike, revengeful race. As there is no general, established authority among them, every family considers itself called upon to execute justice for itself, and to avenge, by force of arms, the injuries it has received. A great proportion of them either have blood on their

<sup>p</sup> Scot. Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 244.—Rep. Edin. Miss. Soc. 1816, p. 16.—Ibid. 1819, p. 27.—Ibid. 1823, p. 23.



own heads, or consider themselves under obligations to revenge the death of some relative; and those who are in such circumstances, go about their ordinary employments with a loaded gun slung over their shoulders, and a sword girded by their side. Few or none of them appear to have the confidence to go from one village to another without being armed. Numbers of posts and stones are set up in the neighbouring fields, as marks that persons had been killed on the spot. But notwithstanding the barbarousness of their manners, Mr. Blyth completely gained their confidence, and on his part formed a warm attachment to them. Having some knowledge of medicine, he went among them, visiting their sick, and was very successful in administering to their bodily relief; a circumstance which had a powerful effect in attaching them to him. One day, one of his patients whose leg he was rubbing with a liniment, exclaimed, "Where is he from, and what am I that he should take so much care of me!" Such is the effect of kindness in winning the hearts even of savages and barbarians.<sup>a</sup>

In January 1822, Mr. Blyth unexpectedly received orders from the governor of the province to leave Nazran. When he came to the country the governor was absent, but the missionaries hoped that when he received the report of the commandant concerning them, he would confirm the permission which had been granted to them. Seven months had passed away without any communication being made to Mr. Blyth, who was now alone in the country, and he had begun to indulge the hope, that

<sup>a</sup> Scot. Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 323, 368; vol. iii. p. 2.



no obstacle would be thrown in the way of his settling among the Inguish. But while he was pleasing himself with these hopes, he received with the deepest regret orders to return to Karass ; and the grief of heart which he felt was not a little increased when he witnessed the sorrow which the Inguish expressed at parting with him. But he had no alternative : the orders of the governor were imperative that he should leave Nazran without delay. As he withdrew from the villages of the Inguish, he shed tears of pity over their spiritual desolation, and offered up a silent prayer that God would conduct him to another station, where he might meet with encouragements similar to what he had enjoyed among that barbarous people. Since that time, some priests of the Russian church have been sent among the Inguish to baptize them, and to bring them over to the profession of Christianity. <sup>r</sup>

Besides communicating oral instruction to the Tartars, the missionaries circulated among them, numerous copies of the New Testament, and of particular books of the Sacred Volume, and also tracts in the Tartar-Turkish, Arabic, and Persic languages. These were not only extensively circulated at the several stations, but they were sent to Kazan, to Tefflis, to Derbend, to Shirvan, to Bagdad, to Persia, and to many other parts of Asia. The reception of the New Testament by the Tartars and other Mahommedans, was, as might be expected, very various. Some would not accept of a copy at all, and many who at first took it, afterwards returned it, on finding what kind of a book it was, whilst

<sup>r</sup> Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1823, p. 25.



others were compelled to do so by their Effendis and Mollahs, who threatened to kill them if they persisted in reading such works. This, however, was not the only nor even the greatest evil. Free of suspicions, the missionaries had for a considerable time, been in the habit of giving the New Testament to every person who could read, and was willing to receive it; and thought that in so doing they were instrumental in putting the word of God into the hands of their fellow mortals, whose curiosity, in the absence of higher principles, might lead them to glance at its contents, and whose hearts might thus be touched with the sacred truths which it makes known. But they found to their grief and astonishment, that not a few of the Mahommedans made it their business to ask New Testaments, not with the intention of reading them, but solely for the purpose of providing themselves at an easy rate with covers for the Koran, and other books recommended by their teachers; while the Sacred Volume which they had promised to read was destroyed or thrown aside as waste paper. Some even appear to have destroyed the New Testament, from a principle of fiery zeal for the principles of Mahommedanism, in opposition to the gospel. Though, since the commencement of their labours, the missionaries at Karass have circulated a great number of books, it is seldom they now meet with an individual who is in possession of one of them. When inquiry is made concerning them, the Tartars generally reply that they had given them to persons at a distance in consequence of their particular solicitation. These circumstances exceedingly nonplus the missionaries, and render them much at a loss to whom to give a book, and



occasion them to refuse many of the requests which are made to them. <sup>s</sup>

Here it may not be improper to mention, that the Tartars in general pay little attention to the education of their children. Few except the priests, and some of the chiefs learn to read, and fewer still are in the habit of reading. Though some studious men may be found among them, yet, as they possess few books of an interesting nature, most of them relinquish the employment so soon as they perceive that no worldly advantages are to be derived from it, or they read little more than what is absolutely necessary to the performance of the duties of their office. Even their greatest Effendis, read so slowly, and so indistinctly, repeating the words three or four times before they seem to understand them, that an European initiated in their language, would conclude them to be little acquainted with the art of reading. As for the common people, the greater part of them are extremely ignorant, and they are even so conscious of this, that they compare themselves to beasts. <sup>t</sup> These facts clearly demonstrate that it is chiefly by oral instruction, we must expect the gospel to be propagated, in the first instance, among the various tribes of Tartars, and they, at the same time, shew the high importance of the introduction among them of an extensive system of education, similar to what is carrying on by the missionaries in India.

<sup>s</sup> Glen's Journal, p. 158, 199.—Rep. Scot. Miss. Soc. 1821, p. 21.—Ibid. 1823, p. 13, 23.

<sup>t</sup> Relig. Mon. vol. xvii. p. 198.—Rep. Edin. Miss. Soc. 1817, p. 44.—Ibid. 1818, p. 46, 48.—Ibid. 1819, p. 5.



## CHAPTER ELEVENTH.

### PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE CHURCH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

#### SECTION I.

#### WESTERN AFRICA.

#### ARTICLE I.

#### SUSOO COUNTRY.

IN 1800, the Church Missionary Society, consisting of members of the Church of England, was instituted in London. It was a considerable time, however, before the Directors commenced their operations, but having at length obtained two missionaries from Germany, they resolved to undertake a mission to the Susoo country, in the neighbourhood of Sierra Leone.<sup>a</sup>

In March 1804, Messrs. Renner and Hartwig sailed from England, and after an agreeable voyage of about five weeks, they reached Sierra Leone in safety. Agreeably to their instructions, they took up their residence for the present in Freetown, with the view of inuring themselves to the climate, in a situation where, in case of necessity, medical help

<sup>a</sup> Proceedings of the Church Missionary Society, vol. i. p. 220.



could easily be obtained; and, as the colony had long been destitute of a regular chaplain, Mr. Renner, in the meanwhile, undertook the charge of its spiritual concerns. Mr. Hartwig and his wife, were attacked soon after their arrival, by the seasoning fever, and both were so ill, that they appeared to be near the gates of death. Their illness lasted many months, and they had a new attack, the following year. Hartwig himself fell into a course of awful backsliding, and his excellent wife found it necessary to return to England.<sup>b</sup>

In February 1806, Messrs. Butscher, Nylander, and Prasse, three other missionaries, embarked for Sierra Leone. They had not, however, sailed above a week, when they were stranded on the coast of Ireland. In the middle of the night, they were awaked out of a profound sleep, by an alarming cry, "We are lost, we are lost." Instantly they sprung upon deck; but owing to the darkness of the night, they knew not where they were. In the meanwhile, the vessel was driven nearer the land, and though the sails were taken in, it seemed as if she would every moment go to pieces. When the morning dawned, they discovered they were not far from a rock, against which, had they struck, they must inevitably have perished. Having now procured assistance from shore, they all landed in safety, and were treated by the inhabitants in the most hospitable manner. After meeting with various other disappointments, they again embarked for Sierra Leone; but owing to the death of the Captain at

<sup>b</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. i. p. 433; vol. ii. p. 52, 190, 319.



Madeira, several months elapsed before they reached Freetown. <sup>c</sup>

In March 1808, Messrs. Renner, Butscher, and Prasse, proceeded to the Susoo country, where a slave trader, of the name of Curtis, assigned them a factory belonging to him, at a place called Bashia, on condition that they would teach his children. The house consisted of two stories, was about sixty feet long, and twenty broad. It was built chiefly of country brick, and there were several other houses attached to it. The gardens also, were extensive, and contained abundance of lemon, plantain, pine, and other trees. The surrounding country was hilly, but the prospect was pleasant, especially opposite the settlement, where hundreds of palm trees presented a charming view. Besides this station at Bashia, the missionaries established another at a place a short way further up the country, where Fantimane, the chief under whose protection Brunton and Greig had resided, offered them a house. <sup>d</sup>

Being now settled in the Susoo country, the missionaries directed their attention to the education of the young as the principal object of their operations. It was the wish of the Society, that, after acquiring the Susoo tongue, they should teach the children to read their own language; but as those who were intrusted to their care were all sent for the express purpose of learning "the White man's book," to which their parents chiefly looked for rendering them superior to others of their countrymen, they found it necessary to acquiesce in their

<sup>c</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. ii. p. 53, 56, 94, 185.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. vol. ii. p. 195, 461, 465, 500.



wishes, and to employ their principal attention in teaching them the English language. Some of the scholars were the sons of chiefs, whose good will was thereby secured to the mission, and several of them were ransomed from slavery by the missionaries. Such of them as belonged to traders, were supported by their parents; but the children of the Susoos, it was necessary to furnish with food and clothing, as well as to educate them. The missionaries, with great liberality, proposed to maintain them out of their salaries, but the number increased so much, that this was out of their power. Renner and Butscher, however, still offered to live on one half of their salary, and to devote the other half, amounting to L.100 a year, to this benevolent purpose; thus furnishing a striking proof of their disinterestedness and zeal, in the sacred cause, in which they were engaged.<sup>e</sup>

In December 1812, Mr. Butscher, who had come to England for the purpose of communicating full information to the Society with respect to the state of the mission, sailed again for Africa, on board the brig Charles, with eight other persons, several of whom were mechanics, and an investment of stores, amounting nearly to L.3000. Soon after they passed the island of Goree, and when they were flattering themselves with the hope of arriving in the Rio Pongas, in three or four days, the vessel struck upon a reef of the Tonqui rocks, about five miles from the shore, and twenty miles south of the river Gambia. Most of the passengers were then in bed, but they were soon roused by the violence of the

<sup>e</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iii. p. 58, 87, 395.



shock. Every one hastened upon deck, some half naked, and others lightly dressed. It was then dark, and as the vessel beat violently upon the rocks, they expected every moment that she would go to pieces. When the morning dawned, however, they were happy to discover the land so near; but as they failed in all their attempts to bring her off the reef, the captain, after some days, asked Mr. Butscher to proceed to Goree, with the view of procuring assistance from that island, and to bring, if possible, a vessel to save the cargo. He accordingly set off, together with his wife and several others of his companions, and on arriving at Goree, he procured a brig to go to the relief of the Charles. In the meanwhile, however, the captain and one of the passengers were killed in an affray with the natives; while the rest of those on board fled to Goree, in a small vessel which had been assisting them; the ship was then taken possession of by the natives, and they were now discharging the cargo. Thus the missionaries lost nearly all the property they were carrying with them; but they soon after found an opportunity of proceeding to the place of their destination.<sup>f</sup>

The shipwreck of Mr. Butscher gave occasion to an interesting display of the high value which the Mahommedans in that quarter set on the Holy Scriptures. With the view of recovering some part of the property he had lost, he wrote to a trader on the river Gambia, to whom he supposed the negroes might carry many of the goods for sale, re-

<sup>f</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iii. p. 387, 461.—Missionary Register, vol. i. p. 145, 149, 267.



questing him to send him whatever he purchased from them, particularly some splendidly bound Arabic Bibles, which were intended as presents for the chiefs. About a fortnight after, he received an answer from the merchant, saying that the negroes had brought a great quantity of the articles to the traders on the Gambia, and that he had made particular inquiry about the Arabic Bibles, and other books; but that while he had obtained a few of the latter, the people would on no account part with the Bibles, though he had offered them goods to the value of L.8 for a single copy. Though we cannot suppose this originated from any regard which they felt for Christianity; but must ascribe it chiefly to the admiration in which they hold a printed Arabic book, which is so much superior to their ordinary manuscripts, still it shews the facility with which the Holy Scriptures may be circulated, even among Mahommedans, who have always been reckoned among the bitterest enemies of the gospel. It appears that while they detest our religion, many of them value our sacred books. <sup>g</sup> \*

<sup>g</sup> Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815.—App. p. 7.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iv. p. 67.

\* Of this opinion we have a strong corroboration in the testimony of the late celebrated traveller, Mr. Park. "When," says he, "I produced Richardson's Arabic Grammar, to some slatees (Free Black merchants) on the Gambia, they were astonished to think that any European should understand and write the sacred language of their religion. At first they suspected that it might have been written by some of the slaves carried from the coast; but on a closer examination, they were satisfied that no Bushreen could write such beautiful Arabic, and one of them offered to give me an ass, and sixteen bars of goods, if I would part with the book." From the same dis-



It is not unworthy of notice, that of the six lay assistants who accompanied Mr. Butscher to Africa, there remained only one at the end of eighteen months. The history of one of them named Meyer, holds forth a very striking warning to candidates for missionary labours, to scrutinize narrowly their Christian character, and to weigh well their motives, before they embark in a service which requires so much patience, and self-denial, and deadness to the world. Previous to his departure from England, he appeared a pious man, and on his arrival in Africa, he at first conducted himself with propriety. It

tinguished traveller, we learn that schools are not uncommon in the interior of Africa, and that many of the Pagan, as well as Mahomedan children, are taught to read and write; though their education, on the whole, is very slender. They possess a variety of manuscripts, most of which are on the subject of religion. "I discovered," says he, "that the negroes are in possession among others, of an Arabic version of the Pentateuch, which is so highly esteemed, that it is often sold for the price of one prime slave. They have likewise a version of the Psalms of David, and lastly, the book of Isaiah, which is in very high esteem. By means of these books, many of the converted negroes have acquired an acquaintance with some of the remarkable events recorded in the Old Testament. The account of our first parents, the death of Abel, the deluge, the lives of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob; the story of Joseph and his brethren; the history of Moses, David, and Solomon, &c. have been related to me in the Mandingo language with tolerable exactness, by different people, and my surprise was not greater on hearing these accounts from the lips of negroes, than theirs on finding that I was already acquainted with them; for although the negroes in general, have a very great idea of the wealth and power of the Europeans, I am afraid that the Mahomedan converts among them think but very lightly of our attainments in religious knowledge."

*Park's Travels*, 5th Edit. p. 88, 226, 466.



was not long, however, before he began to indulge in worldly views. Having married a young woman, the daughter of a slave trader, he was tempted to listen to the flattering proposals of her father, who promised to establish him in business at Sierra Leone, and to provide him with a vessel for trading in the rivers along the coast. He now began to neglect his work, absented himself from family worship, spent most of the week, and generally the Lord's day, with his father-in-law, and behaved in a surly quarrelsome manner to the whole missionary family. After one of his paroxysms of anger, he was seized with a fever, and next day his father-in-law sent a canoe to bring him to his house. Here he became very ill, and was for a long time confined to bed. After his recovery, he repeatedly visited the missionaries, and one day declared his intention to return to Bashia, as his father-in-law was very unkind to him. He was prevented, however, by death, from executing his design. After dinner he proceeded homewards, contrary to the persuasions of the missionaries, who were anxious that he should remain over the night, as, from the appearance of the sky, they were apprehensive of a tornado. By the way the storm overtook him. He was drenched to the skin by the rain, and was thrown into such a violent fever that it was with difficulty he reached home. His disorder now increased so rapidly, that after three days, he breathed his last. Scarcely was his body laid in the grave, when the old slave trader, his father-in-law, drew a bill for L.200, which he insisted on the missionaries accepting, on account of the expenses which he pretended to have been at with him, and as they, of course, refused so un-



reasonable a demand, he retained all the articles which Meyer had taken with him.<sup>h</sup>

In February 1814, the governor of Sierra Leone ordered three armed vessels up the Rio Pongas, to bring off the slave traders who remained in that part of the country, or to destroy their factories, as they still persisted in carrying on a smuggling trade in slaves, notwithstanding all the means he had employed to prevent it. The ships engaged in this nefarious traffic, entered the river, delivered their cargoes, and in the short space of twenty-four hours, were laden with slaves, and took their departure. By this means, the traders effectually eluded detection, and nothing promised to put a period to their proceedings, but rooting them out of the country. In this expedition the armed vessels destroyed about twelve factories, and recovered about three hundred slaves; but they were careful not to injure the Susoos, and even treated them in the most friendly manner. Notwithstanding this, however, the natives as well as the traders, were terribly enraged against the missionaries, as they imagined it was they who gave information to the governor at Sierra Leone, of the slave vessels which arrived in the river, and incited him to send armed ships to destroy the factories. They had often menaced them with the whole weight of their vengeance; and they had of late threatened to set Bashia on fire. Repeated attempts were now made to burn both the missionary settlements, and, unhappily, they proved but too successful. One day, some persons set on fire the grass in a field near

<sup>h</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 507; vol. iii. p. 14.



Canoffee: the flames consumed the dry combustible with great rapidity, and toward evening approached the settlement. About eleven o'clock, they were within about two hundred yards of the place, and therefore, Mr. Wenzel, the missionary, who had sat up to watch their progress, called the children to rise and remove into the middle of the yard, some grass which was designed for the thatching of a church they were then building: and as the dews had now fallen, and the fire was not so violent as before, he sent them to extinguish it, in order to remove all further cause of uneasiness. About two o'clock in the morning, Mr. Wenzel rose to see that the flames had not again kindled. Every thing was then perfectly safe: the fire was entirely extinguished, the children asleep, and their apartment dark. He, therefore, lay down again; but scarcely had ten minutes elapsed, when he heard the boys in the yard, crying, "Master, Master." Upon this he sprung out of bed, and ran into the yard. There he met the children crying their apartment was all light. On entering it, he beheld the flames ascending to the roof: they had already made so much progress, that it was impossible to quench them, or to save any thing. He hastened to the dwelling-house, and ordered the most valuable articles to be removed with the utmost expedition. On returning into the yard, he found the flames had burst forth with great violence, and were ascending in one column of fire along the whole extent of the building. He now stood for a moment to observe whether it was in the direction of the dwelling-house; but as it arose almost in a straight line, he countermanded his former order, and directed that nothing



should be removed from the house, as he was afraid the people might steal more than would be saved. He then went with the boys, and removed every thing of a combustible nature near the fire, particularly the thatch, of which there were nearly six hundred bundles in the yard. In the meanwhile, the violence of the flames abated, and happily, they did not touch the dwelling-house, though the heat was so intense that it was scarcely possible to pass between the fire and the house. Still, however, the loss was very considerable. Mr. Meisner, one of the lay settlers, saved nothing but a single trunk: his wife was obliged to escape, covered only with a blanket. Besides other articles, the whole of the children's bedclothes, tables, benches, chairs, books, slates, and other things connected with a school, were burnt to ashes. Providentially, however, no lives were lost. At the moment the fire began, the children were all asleep; but, happily, a little of the burning grass fell from the roof, on the face of one of the scholars, who instantly gave the alarm, and thus all escaped in safety. <sup>i</sup>

Previous to this, one of the houses at Bashia had been set on fire; but a still calm prevented the flames from communicating to the other buildings. The diabolical attempt was afterwards renewed with more success. One Saturday evening, the cry of fire was heard in the yard, and though it had, as yet, made no great progress, it spread so rapidly, that the hope of extinguishing it was vain. Mr. Renner, assisted by the servants, and the elder boys, attempted to save some parts of their property; but

<sup>i</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 483, 489, 495.



the danger became at last so imminent, that they all forsook him, and a cry was raised that the roof was falling. He, therefore, hastened down on a mangrove beam, and shortly after, the house fell in. The house of Mr. Wilhelm, another of the missionaries, caught fire from the mere heat of Renner's, and so rapid was the conflagration, that in a quarter of an hour, both were consumed. Next day was the Sabbath, but in Bashia, there was no Sabbath. Such was the confusion of their minds, they could not sing the Lord's Song. The influx of strangers was also very troublesome: some came to pity; others to deride them. Early on Monday morning, the cry of fire was again heard. Mr. Renner at first could scarcely believe his own ears, but jumping up, he saw the schoolhouse on fire, notwithstanding there had been a watch of twenty people in the yard. This reduced the missionaries to greater distress than ever. They had now to lodge the boys in the ruins of their house, fixing some palm leaves on the standing walls, as a temporary roof. Some months afterwards, the church at this place was set on fire; but though the roof was consumed, the rest of the building was preserved. There can be little doubt that these successive fires were kindled by incendiaries. It seemed to be the intention of their enemies, not to leave them a house to shelter them from the sun by day, or the dews by night.<sup>k</sup>

In January 1815, the Rev. Mr. Sperrhacken, a Lutheran clergyman, accompanied by several other assistants, among whom was Mrs. Hartwig, who

<sup>k</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 410; vol. iii. p. 273, 603; vol. iv. p. 195.



was returning to Africa to join her husband, sailed from Cork for Sierra Leone, with an investment of stores to the amount of about L.3000. It is truly affecting to think of the havock which death quickly made among them, and others connected with the mission. A few days after their landing, Mr. Hartwig arrived in the colony extremely ill of dropsy. He was one of the first missionaries whom the Society sent to Africa; but he had not been long in the country, when he indulged in conduct inconsistent with his profession as a Christian, and his character as a missionary. His connexion with the mission had been dissolved for a number of years; but he had of late professed contrition for his errors, and though it was not deemed expedient to receive him in the capacity of a missionary, until by a series of consistent conduct, he had evinced the sincerity of his repentance; yet, as in the course of his wanderings among the Susoos, he had acquired a superior knowledge of their language, he was appointed to prepare elementary books, and to begin a translation of the New Testament in that dialect. His excellent wife, who had left Africa some years before on account of the state of her health, and had hitherto been deterred from returning, by his irregular conduct, was now encouraged to go back by these symptoms of repentance. She arrived, however, only to close his eyes in death. Their meeting seemed to revive his spirits, and though extremely ill, he was for the first two or three days very cheerful and happy. He often acknowledged the mercy of God in conducting her again to Africa, saying, He thought, she was sent to him as an angel from heaven. He spoke of his past departure from



the faith, yet acknowledged that the Lord had never given him up to a reprobate mind, and that the stings of conscience used to be like a hook in his heart. After enjoying the kind attentions of his affectionate wife for about a week, he breathed his last, and it is hoped, found mercy with him whose bowels yearn with compassion over the returning backslider.<sup>1</sup>

Mrs. Hartwig had not long to mourn the loss of her husband. After his death she opened a school for young girls; but within less than two months she was attacked with the yellow fever, and died after an illness of four days. Other three weeks had not elapsed when Mrs. Butscher, another excellent and useful woman, died of the same disorder: and her youngest child soon after followed her to the grave. Mrs. Schultz the wife of another missionary who had lately arrived, was next seized with the fever, and after being ill about eleven days was delivered of a child; but the same evening she departed into the world of spirits. Next day the infant died. It was laid in the arms of its mother, and buried in the same tomb. Mr. Schultz himself was so ill at the time, that he was unable to follow their remains to the burying ground; but he was not destined long to feel their loss. In less than a fortnight after he followed them to the grave. Three weeks more had scarcely elapsed when his fellow missionary Mr. Sperrhacken, was also removed from the world. A few days after, his infant child died; and his wife was at the same time very ill; but she it appears recovered.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. iii. p. 2, 270, 318.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. ii. p. 319; vol. iv. p. 552.

<sup>m</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. iii. p. 388, 452, 568; vol. iv. p. 118, 404.



Here we cannot but remark, that the mortality which occurred among the missionaries on the western coast of Africa was truly appalling. From the commencement of the mission, upwards of thirty individuals connected with it, including men, women, and children, fell victims, chiefly we apprehend to the insalubrity of the climate. No sooner, in some instances, did new labourers arrive, than one after another sickened and died. How far it is the duty of missionary societies to undertake or even to persevere in missions, especially on an extensive scale, to countries which occasion so immense a sacrifice of human life, appears to us very questionable, at least, while there remain entirely unoccupied so many other parts of the globe, which present an equal or even a more promising field of usefulness. In the one case, many valuable men, and all the sums expended in educating them, and sending them forth to the heathen are soon for ever lost to the world: in the other, they might in all probability be spared for years to come, and the expense incurred on their account, be amply remunerated in the abundant usefulness of their labours. The truth of these general observations, we apprehend, no one will question; yet the success which has since crowned the labours of the missionaries in Western Africa, shews the necessity of divine direction in the application of the acknowledged principles of human wisdom.

In January 1816, the Rev. Mr. Bickersteth, the assistant secretary of the society, sailed from England for Sierra Leone, with the view of visiting the missionary settlements in that neighbourhood, of investigating their circumstances, and of forming



such arrangements as might seem best adapted to promote their prosperity. On his arrival at Bashia, it was deemed expedient to abandon that settlement, partly on account of the frequent attempts which had been made to burn it, several of which were supposed to originate with a person claiming the ground, partly on account of its vicinity to a native town which exposed the children to numerous temptations. They were therefore removed to Canoffee, where it was hoped all the objects of the mission might be attained.<sup>a</sup>

Hitherto, the missionaries had confined their attention to the education of children, and had made no attempt to preach the gospel in the native towns, partly from a mistaken idea, that little success was to be expected with the adults, in a country where the slave trade had ruined the morals and debauched the feelings of the inhabitants, partly from a combination of other causes. In consequence, however, of the representations of Mr. Bickersteth, they now began to visit some of the neighbouring villages for the purpose of preaching to the people. They were at first received with all that pleasure and cordiality which novelty commonly produces. The inhabitants of one town immediately built a place of worship; and two other villages promised to follow their example. No sooner, however, was the edge of novelty worn off, than they grew tired of hearing the gospel, and had always some apology or another for neglecting to attend divine worship.<sup>o</sup>

In 1818, the mission to the Susoo country was

<sup>a</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 163, 166.

<sup>o</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iii. p. 231; vol. v. p. 179.—  
Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 390, 529.



relinquished, after a long and severe struggle with difficulties of no ordinary kind, most of them arising from the iniquitous traffic in slaves. It may appear to us a very extraordinary circumstance, that the inhabitants of Africa should cling to that as a blessing, which we had abolished as her greatest curse; but the fact is, the slave trade had from time immemorial been the main support of the Susoos, and the destruction of the slave factories had stopped the whole trade of the country. This could therefore scarcely fail to be felt as a serious evil, until some other profitable traffic was established in its room. The abolition of this iniquitous system had already begun to operate most beneficially, in promoting industry, diminishing the number of trials for witchcraft, establishing personal security, reviving mutual confidence, increasing sobriety, and checking quarrels; but yet the chiefs and others who used to be enriched by it, were now reduced to poverty: they had no means of disposing of their produce, and of obtaining even a pinch of snuff or a smoke of tobacco. Unhappily, the restoration of peace in Europe, proved the signal for renewing the miseries of Africa: the right of searching ships having ceased, the traffic in slaves again commenced. The chiefs hailed with delight the appearance of slave vessels on their shores, and on a short notice, supplied them with cargoes of slaves in exchange for tobacco, gunpowder, and rum. This operated like a moral blast, checking the progress of improvement, spreading idleness, disorder, and misery, through the whole country.<sup>p</sup>

<sup>p</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 167.—Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 143; vol. x. p. 283.



It was evident that the chiefs had received and protected the missionaries, merely for the sake of the trade carried on at each of the settlements, and the presents they expected from them, not with a view to any advantages of a moral or religious nature. Most of the natives seemed to have no idea of any benefit to be derived from White men, except rum, tobacco, and gunpowder. But as any traffic carried on by the missionaries was on a small scale, it had long been a complaint against them, that they made no trade and did no good to the country. They were considered, indeed, not only as useless, but as positively injurious. A man of war having about this time come up the river and captured an American slave ship, the Susoos became much exasperated against them in consequence of this circumstance. Though the missionaries scrupulously avoided interfering in matters of this description, yet the people laid the whole blame on them, especially, as when they came and demanded powder from them to fight the man of war, they refused, saying, that if the Foulahs or any other enemy should invade the country, they would give them all the powder in their store ; but they could not give them any to attack the English who were their friends. In consequence of these circumstances, the enmity to them was almost universal. Some were for burning them out of the country ; others were for plundering them ; others proposed to murder them ; but through the firmness of two of the chiefs, they were for the present preserved from molestation. Considering these circumstances, the general dissatisfaction of the Susoos with their residence in the country, and the perilous nature of



their situation, combined with the little prospect of success while the slave trade continued, and the more promising field of labour which presented itself in Sierra Leone, the missionaries abandoned the settlement of Canoffee, and retired with the greater part of the children to that colony.<sup>a</sup>

Such was the termination of the mission to the Susoo country; but though it in a great measure disappointed the expectations of its friends, it was not wholly in vain. A considerable number of children were instructed in reading, writing, and the principles of religion. Many of them were baptized, and though most of these, we fear, gave little or no evidence of vital piety, yet there were a few who appeared to be partakers of divine grace, more than one of whom, it is hoped, are now sharers of eternal glory. A commencement was also made in the preparation of elementary books, and in the translation of the Scriptures into the Susoo language.<sup>r</sup>

## ARTICLE II.

### BULLOM SHORE.

IN October 1812, the Rev. Mr. Nylander resigned the office he had hitherto held, of chaplain at Sierra Leone, and proceeded soon after to the Bullom Shore, with the view of there establishing

<sup>a</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 165, 169.—Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 161, 528; vol. vi. p. 231, 234.

<sup>r</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 177.—Miss. Reg. vol. iii. p. 610; vol. iv. p. 141; vol. v. 105, 165, 389; vol. vi. p. 234, 269.



a missionary settlement. Yongroo Pomoh, the place where he fixed his residence, was pleasantly situated at the mouth of the Sierra Leone river, nearly opposite to Freetown, and only about seven miles from that place. Here he opened a school, and had a number of children under his care, some of whom he instructed in Bullom, as well as in English. One of his first cares, was the preparation of elementary books in the Bullom language. He translated into it, the Four Gospels, the Epistles of John; the Morning and Evening prayers from the Liturgy of the Church of England, and some Hymns. He also compiled a Grammar and Vocabulary of the Bullom language.<sup>a</sup>

In 1818, Mr. Nylander withdrew from the Bullom shore to Sierra Leone, chiefly in consequence of the pernicious influence of the slave trade, which, though less violent than in the Susoo country, clouded in a great measure his prospects of success. The natives regretted his removal; but chiefly, it was supposed, on account of the temporal advantages which they derived from his residence among them.<sup>b</sup>

Before we close this article, it may not be improper to add, that Mr. Klein, another of the missionaries, attempted to form a settlement on the Rio Dembia; but after a short stay in that quarter, he removed to the Isles de Loss. He afterwards proceeded to Kapparoo, a place on the opposite

<sup>a</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iii. p. 72, 98, 236; vol. v. p. 170, 430.—Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 360; vol. ii. p. 439; vol. iii. p. 596, 598; vol. iv. p. 194.

<sup>b</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. vii. p. 6.



coast, in the Bagoë country; but this station was also abandoned, as he was appointed minister of the Isles de Loss, which were now taken possession of by the British government. In Goree, a school was opened by Mr. Hughes, which in a short time, was attended by upwards of a hundred scholars; but it had to be relinquished on the restoration of that island to the crown of France.<sup>c</sup>

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### ARTICLE III.

#### SIERRA LEONE.

WE have seen the slave trade blasting the prospects of the Church Missionary Society, in the Susoo country, and on the Bullom Shore: We are now to behold it opening to them a most important field of usefulness in Sierra Leone. After the abolition of this nefarious traffic, multitudes of negroes captured in smuggling vessels were brought to Freetown. Most of them being at a distance from their native land, they were settled in towns in different parts of the colony, and were supplied with food and clothing at the expense of the British government, until they were able to provide the necessaries of life for themselves. Among these recaptured slaves were many hundred children who were in a most wretched and forlorn condition, without father, or mother, or friend.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 89, 92, 164, 430; vol. vi. p. 142.—Miss. Reg. vol. viii. p. 20.

<sup>a</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iv. p. 542; vol. v. p. 174.



With the view of providing for these destitute children, the Church Missionary Society resolved to form an establishment, on an extensive scale, in the neighbourhood of Freetown, where they might be supported and educated, formed to habits of industry, and trained to useful occupations. For this purpose the government made them a grant of land on Leicester Mountain, a part of the range of hills which rises behind Freetown, and which, on account of its elevation, was considered as more healthy than the low country. Here Mr. Butscher proceeded to erect the necessary buildings, to clear the land, and to plant it with cassada, Indian corn, and other vegetable productions. In these operations the children afforded their assistance, and to stimulate their industry, every boy had a little spot to himself. It was one of the rules of the Institution, that the children should be engaged in useful labour one half of the day, and be instructed in school the other. Such was the plan on which this establishment was originally conducted; but it was afterwards deemed advisable to change it into a seminary, in which a number of the most promising youths might receive a superior education, with the view of being qualified to act as Christian teachers among their own countrymen, or to fill responsible situations in the colony; and after some years it was removed from Leicester Mountain to Regent's Town, one of the villages of captured negroes, where it was carried on, on a still further reduced scale. <sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iv. p. 542; vol. v. p. 172, 422; vol. vii. p. 82; vol. viii. p. 99; vol. ix. p. 85.—Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 193; vol. v. p. 480.



Besides the Christian Institution, as it was called, the Church Missionary Society, established schools, and other means of instruction, in several of the towns of recaptured negroes. It deserves to be recorded to the honour of the British government, that in the plans which the society formed for the amelioration of Africa, it not only afforded them every encouragement, but bore part of the salaries of the missionaries and schoolmasters, and for every child above two hundred in the Christian Institution on Leicester Mountain, agreed to pay the annual sum of Five pounds. It was also at the expense of establishing schools in Freetown and the neighbourhood. Sir Charles Macarthy, the governor of Sierra Leone, likewise deserves the highest praise for the uniform countenance, and the important aid which he afforded the missionaries in their various labours.<sup>c</sup>

The education of the children in the villages of the liberated negroes, was the principal object which the missionaries originally had in view; but they afterwards extended their attention to the adult population. In several of the villages, the success of the gospel was of the most pleasing nature, and furnishes ample encouragement to the Christian missionary to persevere in his labours, notwithstanding the difficulties, and trials, and disappointments, which he may experience.

In June 1816, Mr. Johnson, proceeded to Regent's Town, but on his arrival, he was exceedingly discouraged by the circumstances of the people. Here were collected the natives of twenty-two dif-

<sup>c</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 175.—Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 362; vol. v. p. 253, 484.



ferent countries; and a considerable number of these had been but lately liberated from the holds of slave vessels: they were greatly prejudiced against one another, and in a state of continual hostility, with no common medium of intercourse except a little broken English. When clothing was given them it was difficult to get them to wear it: they either sold it or threw it away. None of them on their first arrival, seemed to live in a state of matrimony: all the blessings of the married state and of female purity appeared to be unknown among them. In some huts, ten of them were crowded together; in others fifteen and twenty: many of them were ghastly as skeletons; six or eight sometimes died in a day, and only six infants were born during one year. Superstition in various forms tyrannized over their minds: many devils' houses sprung up, and all of them had implicit confidence in a species of charms they call gregrees. Scarcely any desire of improvement was discernible among them: for a considerable time, there were hardly five or six acres of land brought under cultivation, and some who wished to cultivate the soil were deterred from doing so by the fear of being plundered of the produce. Some lived in the woods apart from society; others subsisted by theft and plunder; and not a few of them, particularly those of the Ebo nation, the most savage of the whole, preferred any kind of refuse meat, to the rations which were served out to them by order of government.

Such details are repulsive, but they place in a more striking and interesting light, the magnitude of that change which the gospel effected upon them. When Mr. Johnson first went among them, and



informed them that he had come to tell them how they might be saved, they paid little attention to him; and on the following Sabbath, to his great mortification, only nine people came, and even these were almost naked. But on the following Sabbath more attended than his cottage would hold; and afterwards they were obliged to leave the school for a shed. Frequently, however, when he had warned them to flee from the wrath to come, he had the mortification, after the service, of receiving visits from some of his hearers, either to be paid for attending, or to be rewarded on some other account. Mr. Johnson's labours increased, as more negroes were landed from slave vessels. He had to provide for a thousand individuals to whom he issued rations twice a week; but he met with so many difficulties among them, that he was often on the point of abandoning the work.

But though Mr. Johnson was often much discouraged, by the circumstances of the people, he had not laboured many months among them, when several of them began to inquire what they should do to be saved, and in a short time, he had the pleasure of admitting a considerable number of them to baptism. Old and young now became concerned about their souls, and as new negroes were brought to the settlement, many of them also were brought under religious impressions. The young people were observed retiring into the woods for prayer; and the mountains were heard, by moonlight, to echo with the hymns of little groups of them assembled in different places. Many, and most pleasing, were the evidences of piety given by the negroes; their diligent attention to the means of grace; their



deep convictions of their sinfulness and misery; their grateful acknowledgments of the divine forbearance and mercy; their watchful jealousy over their own hearts; their inward conflicts with corruption; their tenderness of conscience; their faith and patience under afflictions; their benevolence to their fellow creatures; their love to the souls of their relatives; their cultivation of domestic happiness; their docility, integrity, and industry. In expressing the feelings of their hearts, their language was characterized by much simplicity, and though very plain was often very impressive and very delightful.<sup>d</sup> \*

<sup>d</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. vii. p. 86, 92; vol. viii. p. 87, 245.—Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 256, 481; vol. vi. p. 343; vol. vii. p. 323; vol. ix. p. 288, 294; vol. x. p. 161, 289; vol. xi. p. 312.

\* Though the following circumstance did not occur at Regent but at Charlotte Town, we may here introduce it, as illustrative of the spirit of the negroes at both places. “I had occasion one evening,” says Mr. Taylor, “to speak sharply to one of the communicants, who had been led away by covetousness to commit an act dishonourable to the gospel, and for which I forbade his attendance at the Saturday Evening Meeting. The next morning he looked very sorrowful, and his swollen eyes testified how he had been employed all night. In the afternoon he came to my wife, begging her to entreat for his admittance at the evening meeting.—‘Suppose somebody,’ said he, ‘have a child, and that child do bad and he punish him, he no turn him out of his house—he must keep him in his house. Me do bad, for true—Massa been punish me very much; but where must I go? what must I do?’ When the other Members and candidates came in the evening, he came with them. I asked him why he came, when I had told him he should not come; but he was speechless. I read that part of the fifth chapter to the Ephesians which respects covetousness, and then left it to the other members to decide whether he should still be allowed to meet among them or not; giving them thereby an opportunity



The people, at the same time, were greatly improved in their external circumstances. The town itself was laid out with regularity; nineteen streets were formed, with good roads round the village, a large stone church, a government house, a parsonage house, schoolhouses, storehouses, an hospital, a bridge of several arches, some native dwellings, and other buildings, all of stone, were erected. The people had gardens attached to each dwelling; all the land in the immediate neighbourhood was under cultivation, and pieces of land to the distance of three miles. They raised cassada, plantains, cocoa, yams, coffee, Indian corn; bananas, oranges, limes, pine apples, guavas, papaws. No less than 4050 bushels of cocoa, and near 10,000 bushels of Cassada, were sold to government in one year. Besides cultivating the ground, many of them were masons, bricklayers, carpenters, sawyers, blacksmiths, and other trades. In these various ways, a large proportion of the negroes maintained themselves, and had relieved the government from all expense on their account. The appearance and manners of the people were at the same time greatly improved. They

to show what spirit they were of. I was much pleased to observe the manner in which they treated the offender, at once manifesting a hatred of sin, and pity to him who had fallen into it. One said, 'We all sinners: we know what it is to be tempted: the devil come and tempt we softly and easily; and we fall into sin before we are aware or consider the consequences.' Another spoke in a similar manner, adding, 'I hope this will be a warning to him not to go the same way again.' One was rather severe, and said that the man had been reproved for covetousness before; he was rather averse to his being retained: but he was the only one who was so inclined. He was therefore allowed still to attend." Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. x. p. 74.



were all now decently clothed, and most of the adult population were regularly married. Formerly they were accustomed to spend their nights in dancing and drumming; not a drum was now left in the town, and oaths and drunkenness were unknown. The church was enlarged three or four successive times, and was regularly attended by twelve or thirteen hundred negroes, while in the schools there were about five hundred scholars. Seldom, in short, has the powerful influence of Christianity in civilizing barbarians, and in imparting to them the multiplied enjoyments of civil and social life, been so strikingly illustrated as among the liberated negroes at Regent's Town.<sup>e</sup>

It may easily be supposed that the arrival of new negroes captured in slave vessels, would give rise to scenes of an interesting nature, and furnish some fine specimens of the improved feelings of the Christian converts. On one occasion of this kind, as soon as the strangers came in sight of Regent's Town, all the people ran out of their houses to meet them with loud acclamations. When they beheld them weak and faint, they laid hold of them, carried them on their backs, and brought them to Mr. Johnson's house. As they lay there on the ground, faint and exhausted, many of the inhabitants recognised their friends and relatives, and there was a general cry of, "O Massa! My Brother! My Sister!" "My Countryman! he live in the same town!" The poor creatures having just come out of the hold of a slave vessel, did not know what to think, nor

<sup>e</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. viii. p. 90; vol. x. p. 80.—Miss. Reg, vol. x. p. 245, 283, 285; vol. xi. p. 311.



whether they should laugh or cry when they beheld those whom they had probably supposed to be dead, and whom they now saw clothed and clean, and perhaps with healthy children in their arms. The people now ran to their houses and brought them what victuals they had ready; and in a short time, their unfortunate countrymen were overpowered with messes of every description. Pine apples, oranges, and nuts, were brought to them in great abundance.<sup>f</sup>

Though Regent's town presented the most striking example of the powerful effects of religion among the negroes, yet several of the other villages, particularly Gloucester, Charlotte, Leopold, Kiskey, and Waterloo, furnished very pleasing instances of success, both in the conversion of the negroes, and in the improvement of their external circumstances. In the several villages, missionary associations were formed, which in the course of a short time raised upwards of L. 400. In Regent's Town alone L. 260 were contributed. Some of the natives were employed in making known the gospel to their countrymen, but while the Church Missionary Society were deeply sensible of the importance of raising up in every country indigenous labourers, they were justly alive to the caution which is necessary in elevating the natives to the rank of instructors of others, "lest being lifted up with pride they fall into the condemnation of the devil." Africans are very fond of becoming headmen and teachers, and if in any way elevated above others, they commonly rise so

<sup>f</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 285.



high in their own estimation, that in the end they frequently prove utterly useless. <sup>g</sup>

In 1822, the number of adults and children in the schools supported by the Church Missionary Society, and by the British government in the colony of Sierra Leone, and the number of communicants in several of the villages of liberated negroes were as follows :

| <i>Begun.</i> | <i>Places.</i>       | <i>Scholars.</i> | <i>Communicants.</i> |
|---------------|----------------------|------------------|----------------------|
|               | Freetown, .....      | 501              | —                    |
| 1816          | Regent's Town, ..... | 933              | 400                  |
| 1816          | Gloucester, .....    | 415              | 127                  |
| 1816          | Kissey, .....        | 250              | 25                   |
| 1817          | Wilberforce, .....   |                  | 5                    |
| 1818          | Leopold, .....       | 314              | 5                    |
| 1819          | Kent, .....          | 246              | 17                   |
| 1819          | Charlotte, .....     | 251              | 8                    |
| 1820          | Waterloo, .....      | 291              | 16                   |
|               | Bathurst, .....      | 176              | 27                   |
|               | Total,               | 3,377            | 630 <sup>h</sup>     |

In May 1823, died at sea the Rev. Mr. Johnson, whose labours at Regent Town had been crowned with such eminent success. Just twelve months before he had parted with his wife, whose health required her to return to England, a trial which he felt to be peculiarly painful, as from the state she was in, he had little expectation of seeing her again in the flesh. Mrs. Johnson however survived, and he was now on his way to England, in hopes of meeting her again : but though he appeared to be

<sup>g</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. ix. p. 71, 86, 89 ; vol. x. p. 69, 71, 73.—Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 327 ; vol. xi. p. 3, 104, 170 ; vol. xi. p. 298.

<sup>h</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. xi. p. 298, 310.



in health when he embarked, it is supposed he carried with him on board the seeds of the disease which so soon proved fatal. Three days after he sailed, he fell sick ; and after an illness of only four days he died. His last thoughts were about his beloved charge at Regent's Town. Mr. Johnson, however, was not the only loss which the mission sustained. Including him, no fewer than five individuals connected with it, died within less than three weeks, among whom were two of the chaplains of the colony. Seldom, if at any time, had the colony been the scene of such mortality as occurred this season among the European inhabitants. <sup>i</sup>

## SECTION II.

### NEW ZEALAND.

IN August 1809, William Hall and John King sailed for Port Jackson, with a view to form a settlement in New Zealand, for the purpose of introducing the arts of civilization, and the light of Christianity among the inhabitants. Mr. Marsden the chaplain of New South Wales, with whom the proposal had originated, was now returning to that colony in the same vessel; and soon after he went on board, he was agreeably surprised to find among the sailors a native of New Zealand named Duaterra. He was the son of one of the chiefs, and had come to England from an ardent desire to see king George; yet, after performing a voyage nearly equal to the circumference of the globe, and enduring many toils and hardships, he was now returning to his

<sup>i</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. xi. p. 293.



native land without having gained the grand object of his ambition. The captain with whom he came to England, not only made him work as a common sailor without allowing him any wages, except a few clothes and provisions, but after his arrival, he kept him almost constantly employed in the ship, seldom permitting him to go on shore. When Duaterra inquired by what means he might see king George, he was sometimes told, he could not find the house; at other times, that nobody was allowed to see the king. Worn out with hardships and disappointments, he was at length seized with a dangerous illness, and as the captain had no longer any use for his services, he sent him in a very weak and sickly state on board the vessel in which he was now returning to New South Wales. When first discovered by Mr. Marsden, he was wrapt in an old great coat, appeared extremely feeble, had a very violent cough, and discharged considerable quantities of blood from the mouth, in consequence of the severe beatings he had received from the sailors. By the use of suitable remedies, however, the progress of the disease was happily arrested, and after sometime, he recovered in a great measure both his strength and his spirits. <sup>a</sup> \*

On arriving in New South Wales, Mr. Marsden who was invested with the superintendence of the

<sup>a</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iii. p. 111; vol. v. p. 550, 555.

\* In the course of the voyage, Mr. Marsden learned from this interesting young man, many curious circumstances relative to the New Zealanders, particularly several singular traditions which are current among them.

It is the common belief of the New Zealanders, that the first woman was made of a rib taken from the side of the first



mission, deemed it inexpedient for the settlers to proceed immediately to the place of their destination, as intelligence was received, that a ship called the *Boyd*, which had lately sailed from Port Jackson, had been burnt by the New Zealanders, and the Captain and crew murdered. He had little doubt, indeed, that the savages had been provoked to commit these outrages by the cruelty of our own countrymen, who in their intercourse with these islanders, never hesitate to plunder and murder them on the most trivial occasions. His suspicions were com-

man; and what is very curious, the general term in their language for bone is *Eve*, or as Mr. Nicholas writes it *Evee* or *Hevee*.

It is also a singular circumstance, that the fable of the man in the moon, so current among the common people of England, is also found among the inhabitants of New Zealand. One evening, when Mr. Marsden was speaking of the creation of the heavenly bodies, Duaterra told him, that there was a man in New Zealand, a long time ago, named Rona, who, in going for water one very dark night, accidentally hurt his foot. Being so much lamed, that he was unable to return home, the moon, which had hitherto been invisible, descended suddenly upon him, and though he caught hold of a tree to save himself, yet the queen of night, by her superior strength, carried away both him and the tree to her seat in the sky, where they remain to this day.

We are further informed by Mr. Nicholas, that on the birth of a child, it is an invariable practice with the New Zealanders to carry it to a priest, who sprinkles it on the face with water from a certain kind of leaf, which he holds for this purpose in his hand. This ceremony they believe to be highly beneficial to the infant: the neglect of it they would consider as extremely hurtful. In that case, they suppose that the child is either doomed to immediate death; or if allowed to live that it will grow up with a most wicked perverse disposition. *Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* vol. iii. p. 114.—*Nicholas' Voyage to New Zealand*, vol. i. p. 59, 61; vol. ii. p. 62.



pletely confirmed by subsequent accounts. The captain of the *Boyd* had treated the son of one of the chiefs, who was returning with him to New Zealand, in the most wanton and barbarous manner; and though the New Zealanders took an awful revenge, they now seemed disposed to carry their resentment no further. A ship which soon after touched at the island, was treated by them in the most friendly manner: they gave the crew a bag of potatoes for a single nail, and afforded them every assistance in their power. Other vessels experienced similar attention, and were supplied with every thing the country produced.<sup>b</sup>

In March 1814, William Hall, after being long detained in New South Wales, and Thomas Kendall, who had lately come from England to assist in the mission, sailed for New Zealand, with the view of investigating the state of the country, and of making arrangements for their settlement in it. On their arrival, they were received in the most friendly manner, both by the chiefs and the people, particularly by Duaterra, who had returned a considerable time before to his native land. During his stay in New South Wales, this interesting young man had laboured with great assiduity in acquiring valuable knowledge, especially the art of husbandry, and on his departure for New Zealand, he was furnished by Mr. Marsden, with some wheat seed, various agricultural tools, and other useful articles. On arriving in his native country, he informed his friends and the

<sup>b</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iii. p. 242; vol. vi. p. 285.—Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 463, 468; vol. iii. p. 188, 190, 195; vol. iv. p. 115, 461, 463, 466. Nicholas' Voyage, vol. i. p. 143.



neighbouring chiefs of the value of the wheat, that it was of this the inhabitants of Europe made the biscuit they had seen on board the ships which visited the island. Some of them to whom he gave a small supply, having put it into the ground it grew well: but before it was ripe, they became impatient for the produce. Expecting to find the grain at the roots of the stems, as with the potatoe, they sought for it there, but finding nothing, most of them pulled up, and burnt the whole of their little crop. The chiefs ridiculed Duaterra about his wheat, and told him that though he had been a great traveller, he must not think to impose on them with his fine stories. His own and his uncle's crops having at length come to maturity, the New Zealanders were astonished to find that the grain grew at the top, not at the root of the stem, yet still they would not believe that bread could be made of it. He therefore sent notice to Mr. Marsden that he had sown his wheat; but that he had forgotten a mill to grind it, and requested him to send some hoes and other agricultural tools. Having received a steel mill by the two missionary settlers, he immediately set it to work, and ground some wheat in the presence of his countrymen, who on seeing the flour, danced and shouted for joy. He then made a cake, and baked it in a fryingpan, and gave it to them to eat, which fully satisfied them of the truth of what he had told them, that wheat would make bread. After spending upwards of six weeks in New Zealand, and ascertaining a variety of circumstances relative to the state of the country, Messrs. Kendall and Hall returned to Port Jackson, accom-



panied by several of the natives, among whom were Duaterra, and five others of the chiefs. <sup>c</sup>

Deeply interested in the establishment of the mission, Mr. Marsden soon after sailed from Port Jackson for New Zealand, with Messrs. Kendall, Hall, and King, in order to promote their safe and comfortable settlement in that country. On their arrival, they visited various parts of the island, and were every where received, both by the chiefs and the people, in the most cordial manner. Having pitched on a spot for a settlement in the Bay of Islands, Mr. Marsden purchased it from the chiefs to whom it belonged, and had the grant written on parchment, in all the technical form of an English deed, which Ahoodie O Gunna, the chief, ratified by adding as his signature, a minute copy of the lines tatoed on his face. The land consisted of about two hundred acres: the price was only twelve axes. <sup>d</sup>

Among other things which Mr. Marsden brought with him, were a few horses, cattle, and sheep, thinking that the introduction of these useful animals into the island, might be of essential service to the inhabitants. On the landing of the cattle, the New Zealanders were perfectly amazed and bewildered, not knowing what to think of such extraordinary looking animals. Their astonishment, however, was soon turned into alarm. One of the cows, impatient of the restraint it had so long suffered on board the ship, rushed in among them, and spread such terror through the whole assembly, that,

<sup>c</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. iii. p. 102, 155, 197.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 551.

<sup>d</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 327, 461, 500.



imagining some preternatural monster had been let loose to destroy them, they all took to flight. On their return, Mr. Marsden mounted a horse, and rode up and down the beach, exciting their wonder in a still higher degree. To see a man seated on the back of so strange an animal, they thought the most extraordinary thing in nature, and following him with gazing eyes, believed him, at the moment, more than a mortal. Duaterra had previously described to his countrymen the nature and use of the horse; but his account appeared so absurd in their eyes, that it only excited their ridicule. Having no name in their language for such an animal, he thought that *Corradee*, their term for a dog, would be the best designation he could adopt; but not being able to elevate their ideas to the height of his description, they believed not a syllable he said. On telling them that he had seen large corradees carry about men and women, in land canoes, meaning carriages, they would put their fingers in their ears, and desire him very indignantly, not to tell such lies to them. A few, however, more curious than the rest, to prove his veracity, mounted on the backs of their hogs, saying they must be much more fit for the purpose of riding than dogs; and endeavouring to gallop about upon them, they quickly tumbled into the mire. This was, therefore, a day of triumph to Duaterra, as it afforded his countrymen ocular demonstration of the truth of his statements.<sup>e</sup>

Previous to Mr. Marsden's departure from the island, Duaterra was taken dangerously ill; and,

<sup>e</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 461.—Nicholas' Voyage to New Zealand, vol. i. p. 171.



as from the superstitious notions of his countrymen, his complaints were entirely maltreated, they, in a short time, put a period to his life. His principal wife was inconsolable at his death, and presented a striking example of the dreadful effects of heathen superstition. On the following day, while the people were mourning, and cutting themselves, agreeably to the custom of the South Sea islands, she terminated her own existence, by hanging herself at a short distance from the body of her departed husband. None of the natives, not even her nearest relations, appeared shocked or surprised at the deed she had committed. Her mother, indeed, wept, while she was composing the limbs of the wretched suicide; but yet she applauded the sacrifice she had made for the man she so tenderly loved. Her father beheld her corpse without concern: no sigh swelled his breast, no tear trickled down his cheek when it was brought before him. Two of her brothers smiled on the occasion, and said: "It was a good thing in New Zealand." It is a common practice, it appears, for the women to put a period to their existence when their husbands die, as they imagine they will go to them in the other world.<sup>f</sup>

Though we cannot but lament the death of this interesting young man; yet it is questionable whether it was any material loss to the mission. Notwithstanding his many excellent qualities, and his ardent desire for the improvement of his countrymen, he had imbibed strong prejudices against the missionary settlement. Just before his departure

<sup>f</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 330.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 556.



from Port Jackson, some person or persons, had told him not to trust the settlers, as their only object was to deprive the New Zealanders of their country, and that as soon as they had established themselves, they would pour an armed force into the island, and take possession of it for themselves. To make the deeper impression on his mind, they pointed to the natives of New South Wales, wandering naked about the streets, deprived by the English of their country, and reduced to a state of extreme wretchedness. These representations filled him with the most melancholy reflections, destroyed his confidence in Europeans, and aroused his fears and jealousies for the safety of his country. It was in vain that Mr. Marsden endeavoured to remove his apprehensions. The poison infused into his mind, was too active and subtile, to be easily counteracted. He had prepared the way for the commencement of the mission ; but scarcely seemed disposed to aid it further. Previous to his dissolution, indeed, his prejudices appeared in some degree to subside, in consequence, probably, of the kindness which the settlers manifested to him during his illness.<sup>s</sup>

Having taken up their residence at Ranghee-hoo, on the piece of land purchased by Mr. Marsden, the missionaries endeavoured to teach the New Zealanders some of the more useful arts of life ; but though quick and active in their dispositions, the fondness of the savages for a rambling life, proved a great obstacle to their improvement. Parties of them were ready to assist in felling trees, making fences, cultivating the ground, or doing any other

<sup>s</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 558.



work which required little time to learn. Like all savages, however, they had not patience to wait for distant benefits ; immediate gratification was the object they always sought. After sometime, however, some of the natives made considerable improvement in some of the more necessary arts of life : their progress, in fact, was greater than could have been anticipated, and the quantity of land cultivated by the natives in the neighbourhood of the settlement, was greatly increased, chiefly, in consequence of the agricultural tools with which they were furnished by the settlers. Mr. Kendall, at the same time, opened a school, which was attended by a number of the children ; and with a view to their instruction, he prepared a spelling book in their language, which was printed in New South Wales. He also collected materials for a Grammar and Vocabulary of the language, which were afterwards arranged with the assistance of Professor Lee of Cambridge, and printed in England. <sup>h</sup>

In January 1819, the Rev. Mr. Butler, and Messrs. Francis Hall, and James Kemp, the one a schoolmaster, the other a smith, sailed from England for New Zealand. Mr. Marsden accompanied them from New South Wales, and immediately after their arrival, he purchased land from Shunghee, one of the principal chiefs, at Kiddeekiddee, a place about twelve miles distant from Ranghee-hoo, the other station. It consisted of about thirteen thousand acres, and cost only forty-eight axes. On this occasion, some of the chiefs who had now begun to

<sup>h</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. vi. p. 127 ; vol. ix. p. 344, 346.—Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 349, 524 ; vol. viii. p. 307, 500 ; vol. ix. p. 308 ; vol. x. p. 198.



appreciate the temporal advantages resulting from the mission, manifested extreme disappointment that none of the settlers took up their residence with them. They were even displeased that so few arrived, and were very impatient till others should come from England. One chief told Mr. Marsden that he was very angry he had not brought a blacksmith for him; and that when he heard there was no blacksmith for him, he and his wives sat down and wept. Mr. Marsden assured him that one would be sent to him, as soon as possible; but the chief replied it would be of no use to him, to send a blacksmith to him when he was dead, and that he was at present in the greatest distress; his wooden spades were all broken, and he had not an axe to make any more; his canoes were going to wreck, and he had not a nail or a gimlet with which to mend them; his potatoe grounds were uncultivated, as he had not a hoe, and for want of cultivation, he and his people would have nothing to eat.<sup>i</sup> But while the prospects of this mission were gradually brightening, circumstances occurred, which for the present threw a cloud over it.

In July 1821, the chiefs, Shunghee, and Whykato, who had accompanied Mr. Kendall on a visit to England, arrived again in New Zealand; but the result of this voyage, strikingly illustrates the inexpediency of taking the natives of heathen countries, whether converted or unconverted, to Europe. This, in theory, may promise many advantages; but in practice, we apprehend it has proved, almost invariably a fruitful source of evil.

<sup>i</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. vii. p. 66; vol. ix. p. 200, 208, 284, 286, 298.



Every attention had been paid by the Directors of the Society to the two chiefs when in England; yet Shunghee, strange as it may seem, returned with a mind much exasperated against them, chiefly, it would appear, because they had not supplied him with muskets and gunpowder. On these his whole soul appears to have been bent, and during his stay at Port Jackson, he exchanged the valuable presents he had received in this country, for arms and ammunition. Hearing on his arrival at New Zealand, that the barter in muskets and powder on the part of the settlers had been relinquished; and attributing his not having received in England the full gratification of his wishes, to letters not having been written to the Society in his favour, he kept at a distance from the settlement of Kiddeekiddee for several days, and when he did visit it, nothing was heard from him but loud complaints of the treatment he had received in England. The native sawyers, who had previously worked quietly and diligently, caught his spirit, and struck work, insisting on being paid, either in the favourite articles of muskets and powder, or in money, with which they might purchase them from the whalers. It is a very extraordinary circumstance, that Mr. Kendall pleaded for the sale of arms and ammunition to the natives, alleging that he would sell a musket as he would sell a dollar, without any reference to the use which might be made of it, a circumstance which contributed still further to exasperate the mind of Shunghee against Mr. Butler, and the other settlers who refused to act on this most unchristian principle.<sup>k</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 247.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. x. p. 199, 356, 361.



Hitherto the New Zealanders had treated the missionary settlers, on the whole, better than could have been expected, especially when it is considered that they themselves continued to experience many wanton acts of cruelty from European sailors who visited the island. Some, indeed, endeavoured to steal from them whatever they could lay hold of, and others were very troublesome and turbulent, if they did not get what they wanted, yet, in general, they shewed no disposition to do them any personal injury. But now the natives treated them with an insolence and a contempt, which they had not before manifested; they came into their houses whenever they pleased, demanded food from them, broke down their garden fences, entered the workshop of the smith, demanded his tools to repair their muskets, or to cast balls, and took away whatever they thought proper. The settlers found that it was in vain to resist them; but were obliged to submit with patience to their numerous insults.<sup>1</sup>

Hostilities of the most formidable nature were now commenced, and the missionaries at Kiddeekiddee, in particular, were called to witness the most revolting scenes of ferocity and blood. Shunghee had not been two months in the country, when he proceeded at the head of a large armament, to attack his countrymen on the river Thames. The battle was dreadful, and many fell on both sides; but Shunghee's party proved victorious. They slew, it is said, about a thousand of their countrymen,

<sup>1</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. v. p. 465; vol. viii. p. 210; vol. ix. p. 200, 208, 347, 348; vol. x. p. 354, 356, 363;—Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 347, 520, 525.



three hundred of whom they roasted and ate, before they left the field of battle. The settlers beheld them return loaded with the relics of their cruelty, and witnessed the murder in cold blood, and the devouring of their prisoners. At such times, the mildest disposition seemed to be brutalized, and even little children, took a savage delight in murdering other children who were prisoners of war. The spirit of revenge, however, was not yet satiated. Shunghee again set out on another expedition, to sweep the country with the besom of destruction; but, notwithstanding these distressing circumstances, the missionaries did not judge it necessary to leave the island.<sup>m</sup>

Besides promoting by all the means in his power, the missionary settlement in New Zealand, Mr. Marsden instituted a seminary in New South Wales for the instruction of such of the natives as might come thither, in spinning twine, making ropes, weaving canvas, cultivating wheat, and in other useful arts; but after some years it was suspended, partly, in consequence of the change of habits and climate being found injurious to the health of the New Zealanders. A Society was also formed for the protection of such natives of the South Sea Islands as visited Port Jackson; and the Governor issued strict orders to all seamen, not to injure the inhabitants of these islands, in their persons or property; but as these measures were attended with

<sup>m</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. ix. p. 204, 284, 295, 300, 356; vol. x. p. 201, 358.—Miss. Reg. vol. viii. p. 308; vol. x. p. 247; vol. ix. p. 67.—Meth. Miss. Notices, vol. iii. p. 325.



little effect, an act of Parliament was passed for the more effectual punishment of British subjects guilty of murder or manslaughter, in New Zealand, and other places not within his Majesty's dominions.<sup>n</sup>

### SECTION III.

### EAST INDIES.

#### ARTICLE I.

#### AGRA.

IN November 1812, Abdool Messee, a converted native, left Calcutta in company with the Rev. Mr. Corrie, one of the chaplains of the East India Company, who was proceeding to Agra. He was originally a zealous Mahommedan; but had, of late, embraced the Christian faith; and as he possessed considerable talents for the ministry, he was employed for sometime, in preaching at Calcutta to a number of native Christians, and such other persons as chose to attend. With this view, he was furnished by a friend with heads of discourse, and from these notes, he often preached in a very feeling and forcible manner. In consequence of this, he met with much opposition from his Mahommedan countrymen, some of whom offered him money if he would relinquish Christianity, or, at least, leave Calcutta. Twice, on frivolous pretences, he was sum-

<sup>n</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 387.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iv. p. 580; vol. v. p. 106, 139, 463; vol. vi. p. 125, 290; vol. x. p. 194.



moned before a magistrate, and discharged with costs. <sup>a</sup> \*

Immediately on his arrival at Agra, Abdool commenced his labours under the auspices of Mr. Corrie, with great diligence and zeal. This quarter of India, had of late, been visited with a terrible

<sup>a</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 261 ; vol. ii. p. 149.

\* In the course of the voyage to Agra, Mr. Corrie's company touched at Allahabad, where were then assembled an immense multitude of people to celebrate the annual ablutions. Every person who, on this occasion, bathes at the junction of the Ganges and the Jumna, pays a rupee to government, and it was calculated, from the more than ordinary number assembled this season, that no fewer than 250,000 rupees would be collected. THOSE WHO DROWN THEMSELVES PAY AN ADDITIONAL SUM TO GOVERNMENT. One poor wretch had already drowned himself with the ordinary ceremonies : several others had intimated their design to follow his example at the ensuing eclipse of the sun, and many more, it was expected, would, as usual, be thrust by the pressure of the crowd, beyond their depth, and lose their lives. One year, at least thirty were said to have drowned themselves at this place. (*Miss. Reg.* vol. ii. p. 363. *Bapt. Period. Accounts*, vol. vi. p. 275.) Suicide is not only practised among the Hindoos, but their sacred books expressly recommend it, and promise heaven to the self-murderer, provided he die in the Ganges. (*Ward's View of the Hindoos*, vol. i. p. lxxii.) It is shocking to think that a system of religion should exist which could give any encouragement to suicide ; but it is more shocking still, that so awful a crime should be regulated by law, nay, rated at a certain price, and that under a CHRISTIAN government.

Here, we cannot help adverting to the well known practice of the immolation of widows on the funeral pile of their husbands. In 1812, a law was passed by the Bengal government, prohibiting the burning of females without their own consent, or who were reduced to a state of insensibility with intoxicating drugs, or such as were pregnant, or who were under sixteen years of age. This, doubtless, was a humane



drought, which was followed with all the horrors of famine. The whole of the surrounding country presented a most melancholy sight: nothing like grass was almost to be seen: the extensive plains appeared as one field of dust. The people in consequence of this, were reduced to a state of starvation, and

regulation, and was passed with a humane intention; but it deserves precisely that kind of commendation which would be due to a regulation of the native governments, prohibiting the bands of robbers, which they most absurdly license, from plundering the widow, the fatherless, and the orphan. It implies a permission to commit murder on all other descriptions of widows; and, in fact, this is not merely implied, but is expressly provided for in the body of the act. "It is not the intention of government," these are the words of the law, "It is not the intention of government to check or forbid any act authorized by the tenets of the religion of the inhabitants of their dominions, or even to require that any express leave or permission be required previously to the performance of the act of the Suttee; *and the Police officers are not to interfere or prevent any such act from taking place.*" In fact, the only cases of immolation which the Bengal government had the courage to prohibit, were such as were already forbidden by the sacred books of the Hindoos, so that the degree of credit which is due to it, even for the humane part of the regulation, is reduced within very small compass.

With respect to murder, and especially a system of murder, laws of regulation ought to be entirely out of the question: the only law applicable to so horrid a practice, is a law of prohibition, of total, absolute, universal prohibition. Nor is there any reason for apprehending the smallest danger to our empire in the East, from such a law. A part of the community might be dissatisfied; but the body of the people, it is probable, would view it with the highest approbation. The Mahomedans in those parts of India which they conquered, did not allow the immolation of widows on the funeral pile of their husbands, without special permission, which was not readily granted. In the island of Bombay, the British government



were glad to eat any thing. Many died on the street of absolute want. One evening, a poor man breathed his last in the market-place, in the midst of the dealers in grain. He had picked up a few husks of pease and corn, and attempted to eat them; but his strength was already too far exhausted. Not a man in the market would give this poor wretch

followed the example of the Mahomedan, nor has the prohibition interrupted in the slightest degree, the tranquillity of that Presidency. Knowing the existence of the law, the people never think of asking permission. The Great Albuquerque who abolished this practice in the kingdom of Goa, instead of being viewed by the Hindoos with abhorrence, was held by them in the highest estimation. The Commentaries of his Son, contain the following interesting passage. "When Alf. de Albuquerque took the kingdom of Goa, he would not permit that any woman from thenceforth should burn herself; and, although to change their custom is equal to death, nevertheless they rejoiced in life, and said great good of him, because he commanded that they should not burn themselves." In proof of the veneration in which this great man was held by the natives, it is added, "that long after his death, when a Moor or a Hindoo had received wrong, and could obtain no redress from the governor, the aggrieved person would go to Goa, to Albuquerque's tomb, and make an offering of oil at the lamp which burned before it, and call upon him for justice." (*John's Collection of Facts relative to the Burning of Widows*, p. 3, 88, 103, 111.) The Dutch do not allow this practice in the districts possessed by them, not even in Bengal. In Travancore, a country governed by Brahmins, this murderous custom has been completely abrogated for about a century; and now, the women would be highly offended, if any body should propose to them to ascend the funeral pile of their husbands. (*Miss. Trans.* vol. iv. p. 213. *Evan. Mag.* vol. xxx. p. 495.) The Governor of India, who shall have the wisdom, the humanity, and the magnanimity to abolish this horrid system, will be crowned with higher and more imperishable honours, than if he had been the conqueror of the world.



a handful of wheat to save his life. The apathy and hardheartedness of the Hindoos are beyond description: they have in general no more feeling for the poor, than if they were so many dogs.<sup>b</sup>

To alleviate, in some degree, the urgent distress of the poor people, Abdool visited them in the skirts of the town, where they chiefly resorted, distributed pice \* among them, and while he supplied their temporal necessities, addressed them concerning the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. At first they received him as an angel from heaven; but a report having been circulated, that he was an Arabian, and intended to carry off their children, they not only refused to hear his instructions, but even rejected for several days the alms which he offered them. Afterwards, however, they returned, accepted of his charity, and appeared to listen to him with great attention.<sup>c</sup>

During the week, Abdool kept a school for children, and on the Lord's day, he performed divine worship in the Hindostanee language, which was attended by numbers of the Hindoos and Mahomedans, as well as by some of the Roman Catholics belonging to the fort. His congregation, indeed, increased so much that the place of worship was too small to contain them, and it became necessary to erect a larger. He was also daily visited by some of the Mahomedans, who came to converse with him on the subject of religion, and others invited him to visit them at their own houses. On these occasions, he usually read a chapter or two from the

<sup>b</sup> Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 240, 372.

<sup>c</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 190.

\* Halfpence.



New Testament, and endeavoured to explain to them the principles of Christianity; but with little or no reference to any other system of religion. In general they conversed with him more calmly than might have been expected, and treated him with great respect, notwithstanding the change in his religious views. In a short time, the whole city appeared to have its attention directed to religion: even many persons of considerable rank and learning, began to make inquiry about the gospel.<sup>d</sup>

Besides exciting a general attention to the subject of religion, Abdool had the satisfaction to see a considerable number of his countrymen, renounce the faith of their ancestors, and admitted by baptism into the bosom of the church. In the course of seventeen months, no fewer than seventy-one persons were baptized, of whom about fifty were adults. Some of them, indeed, afterwards apostatized; but this was nothing more than might be expected. As most of them were, in the meanwhile, thrown out of employment among their own countrymen, it was necessary to make provision for their support. Such as were husbandmen, were employed in cultivating some ground, which was taken for this purpose: The females were furnished with wheels, and materials for spinning; and two of the men who were weavers, manufactured the produce of their labour into cloth, for the use of the children and the poor.<sup>e</sup>

In August 1814, the Rev. Mr. Corrie, under whose auspices Abdool Messee had hitherto labour-

<sup>d</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 224, 293, 328, 445, 512.

<sup>e</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. iii. p. 411; vol. iv. p. 23.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. vi. p. 240.



ed, was under the necessity of leaving Agra, and proceeding to England for the restoration of his health. After his departure, the infant mission began to droop. Such as are conversant with the native character, and with the influence of an European Superintendent, will easily conceive, that even such a man as Abdool, who, though a pious, zealous, sensible man, was naturally of a timid disposition, would deeply feel the loss of such a guide, counsellor, and friend. Sensible of the dangers to which an unprotected native flock would be exposed, Mr. Corrie used the precaution, to distribute the more learned and efficient members of the church, in different parts of the country, as monshees, readers, and schoolmasters, under the patronage of such friends as were disposed to take charge of them. Abdool still continued at Agra, preaching the gospel, and watching over those of his little flock who remained at that place. His congregation was small, and the schools also through the indolence and inattention of the teachers greatly declined. Without constant superintendence the native teachers never do their duty; but in this censure, Abdool, must not be considered as in any degree implicated. He conducted himself in such a manner, as afforded the highest satisfaction, to the friends of the mission, and as a proof of this he was at length ordained to the Christian ministry.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. iii. p. 380, 411; vol. iv. p. 423, 333, 375; vol. v. p. 342.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. ix. p. 111.



## ARTICLE II.

## MADRAS.

IN February 1814, the Rev. John C. Schnarre, and the Rev. Charles T. E. Rhenius, sailed from England for the East Indies, and after a voyage of little more than four months, they arrived at Madras in safety. In less than a year, they acquired such a knowledge of the Tamul language, as to be able not only to converse with the natives on the subject of religion, but to preach to them. A number of people came to hear them, and some even offered themselves for baptism; but on examination, it generally appeared, that it arose from some sinister motive, as the hope of obtaining a little food for themselves and their families. All that the missionaries said, they acknowledged to be true; they admitted the folly of their own idolatrous worship; they asked very pleasing questions, and made many fair confessions, so that one unacquainted with the Hindoo character would have been easily deceived by them, and have formed a high opinion of their preparation for receiving the gospel; but the missionaries learned by sad experience, to place little reliance on their professions. After some time, however, they had the pleasure of baptizing several of the natives.<sup>a</sup>

Impressed with the importance of the education of youth, the missionaries early directed their atten-

<sup>a</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 50; vol. iii. p. 68; vol. iv. p. 56, 60, 377, 384.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. viii. p. 153; vol. x. p. 139.



tion to this interesting object. Having opened a school in their garden, they had the pleasure, in a short time, of receiving into it a great number of children. In this school, they admitted of no distinction of casts, and though a few raised objections to this, yet the natives in general made no scruple about it. High and low casts, Heathens, Catholics, and Protestants, all learned together. The children, however, were very irregular in their attendance: seldom above two thirds of them were present. Of this the numerous festivals of the Hindoos, and the Catholics, and the superstitious notions prevalent among them, were the principal causes. The parents imagined their children got sick by coming into the garden, as it was an old tradition, that the devil had there his abode. One of the boys affirmed he always took a headache when pronouncing the word which signifies God.<sup>b</sup>

Encouraged by the success of this first attempt, the missionaries established other schools, both in Madras, and in the neighbouring country. At the first institution of these schools, the natives in general appeared decidedly favourable to them; but many instances of opposition afterwards occurred, both among the Catholics and the Hindoos, who naturally became suspicious of the effects of the religious instruction which was given to their children. Some withdrew them from school, on account of their having to read the gospel, and to commit passages of scripture to memory; several of the schools had

<sup>b</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 59; vol. v. p. 333.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. vi. p. 250, 254.



even to be discontinued; but by degrees, the alarm in a considerable measure, subsided. <sup>c</sup>

In October 1821, the number of schools connected with this mission was ten, and the children attending them amounted to 338; but it was found that the schools, as to the grand object of their institution, the instruction of the children in the principles of Christianity, were nearly useless, unless they were within the regular and frequent inspection of one of the missionaries. The British government, we are happy to add, erected a church for the accommodation of the native Christians, connected with the mission. Considerable numbers of Tracts were also printed and circulated among the natives. <sup>d</sup>

Besides these stations, the Church Missionary Society, established a number of others in various parts of India; but they furnish few details of an interesting nature, materially different from those which we have already had occasion to give in our account of other missions. At several of these stations, some of the natives were baptized; and more might have been admitted to that privilege, had the missionaries chosen to receive them. \* At

<sup>c</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. vi. p. 74.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. vi. p. 106, 251, 254, 269, 271, 274, 279; vol. vii. p. 159.

<sup>d</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. ix. p. 143; vol. x. p. 135, 138, 286.

\* We have often felt deep regret, at observing the inadequate ideas, which some missionaries appear to have of the qualifications of Church Members, and their admission of persons to baptism, on little more than a profession of Christianity, and a theoretical, probably in many instances, a very partial, and often merely a mechanical knowledge of the gospel, while there is scarcely any evidence of their having experienced a



most of them, the education of youth constituted a primary object of attention; and at some little else

change of heart, or even of their being seriously impressed by the truth. We know it is alleged, that by baptizing such persons, they and their children are placed more in the way of religious instruction, and the latter grow up without those prejudices against Christianity, which they would otherwise probably have imbibed, had their parents remained professed heathens; and by this means, they or their descendants may ultimately be brought under the saving influence of divine truth. We cannot here enter into the discussion of this question; but we may remind those who employ such reasoning, that we are never to "do evil, that good may come." There are no doubt extremes on both hands; there is rigidity, as well as laxity; too much strictness, as well as too little. Much wisdom therefore is necessary on the part of the Christian missionary, that while on the one hand, he is careful to check the presumption of mere pretenders, he may on the other, occasion no discouragement to sincere converts. But as a degree of laxness is probably the more common error of the two, we cannot forbear quoting the following sentiments in a letter from the Rev. Mr. Norton, at Allepie, on the coast of Malabar, and anxiously wish they were engraven on the heart of every missionary: "I earnestly pray, that the Lord will render every means used for his glory, effectual to the salvation of numbers. I say to the *salvation* of numbers, because we cannot be satisfied with mere *proselytes*, destitute of the principles of divine grace in the heart. These sooner or later, instead of proving a credit to our holy religion, by being "living epistles of Christ," among their heathen neighbours, will bring, we may fear, disgrace and reproach on that worthy name by which they would be called. I long therefore for sincere, scriptural, holy, converts, turning by the influence of the Holy Spirit, "from dumb idols to serve the living and true God." These would be the joy of our hearts; in them would we exult, and over them would we exclaim with the apostle, "God be thanked, that though ye were the servants of sin, ye have obeyed from the heart, that form of doctrine into which ye were delivered." *Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc.* vol. viii. p. 181.



has yet been attempted. The people were, in general, remarkably eager to have schools established among them; nor did they, at least, in many instances, make any objections to the reading of the Scriptures, and other Christian books by their children: in some cases, in which they did make objections at first, their prejudices gradually died away, or they were glad to yield when they found the missionaries firm to their point. The pomp and splendour of the heathen festivals, however, proved a great hinderance to the progress of the children, as they kept them away from the schools, at least, in some parts of the country, not less than one fourth of the year. Besides supporting these ordinary schools, the Society adopted measures for establishing seminaries for the education of native schoolmasters, catechists, and missionaries. It is a curious fact, that at Benares, the grand seat of the Brahminical power, a wealthy native gave a house for a seminary, and endowed it with 200 rupees a month, or about L.300 a year, in perpetuity, and placed the whole under the management of the Calcutta Corresponding Committee of the Church Missionary Society; but as this sum was not sufficient for its support, the government of India, on application from him, made a further grant for that purpose of L.400 a year. But the efforts of the Society were not confined to the education of the male population: it also turned its attention to the education of the females. Miss Cooke, a lady who had left England, with the view of promoting female education in India, was engaged by the Corresponding Committee at Calcutta for this important work, and entered on



her labours with encouraging prospects of success. When the first school was opened, the mothers of several of the girls came to see what was doing with their children, and expressed their apprehensions that there was a design to take their daughters from them. This the Pundit assured them was not the case; but they were not satisfied until he gave them a written declaration, that they might take and hang him up if any such thing should happen. Soon after the first school was opened, a number of Hindoos presented a petition for the establishment of another Female School in Calcutta, and some of those native gentlemen, who, as members of the Calcutta School Society, had declined taking part publicly in the education of females, now privately assisted in procuring ground on which schools might be erected. By the last accounts, the number of female schools under the care of Miss Cooke, amounted to 15, and contained nearly 400 children, and there appeared an opening for instructing the females among the higher classes of society. <sup>c</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. vii. p. x, 124, 137, 180; vol. viii. p. 138, 305; vol. x. p. 105.—Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 181; vol. xi. p. 192, 194, 199.



In January 1823, the Church Missionary Society, had the following stations in India, besides those of which we have given an account :

| <i>Begun.</i> | <i>Places.</i>                | <i>Schools.</i> | <i>Scholars.</i> |
|---------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|------------------|
|               | INDIA.                        |                 |                  |
| 1815          | Calcutta, .....               | 21              | 843              |
| 1815          | Chunar, .....                 | 3               | 98               |
| 1816          | Tranquebar, .....             | 31              | 1591             |
| 1817          | Benares, .....                | —               | 130              |
| 1817          | Burdwan, .....                | 13              | 958              |
| 1817          | Tinnevelly, .....             | 14              | 486              |
| 1817          | Allepie, .....                | 2               | 96               |
| 1817          | Cotymn, .....                 | 35              | 806              |
| 1820          | Bombay, .....                 | 4               | 190              |
|               | CEYLON.                       |                 |                  |
| 1818          | Kandy, .....                  | —               | —                |
| 1818          | Nellore, near Jaffna, .....   | 9               | 290              |
| 1819          | Baddagamme, near Galle, ..... | 7               | 159              |
| Total,        |                               | 139             | 5647             |

Besides these stations where missionaries are settled, there are several other places where native teachers, and other labourers are placed, as Buxar, Lucknow, Bareilly, Meerut, Kowabee, Cannanore, and Tellicherry. The whole number of schools supported by this society in India, must therefore amount to near one hundred and fifty; and the children educated in them to about six thousand. The station at *Cotymn*, is among the Syrian Christians on the Malabar coast, and was established with the view of rekindling among them the dying embers of vital religion. Of this mission, we might have given some interesting details, but as it is among a Christian not a Heathen or Mahommedan community, it does not fall within the design of this work.



We may, however, state in general, that the missionaries are proceeding in their labours with much prudence and zeal, and with very pleasing prospects of success.

Before we close our account of the Church Missionary Society, it may not be improper to add, that the education of youth is an object which it promotes in places where it has no missionaries. Several years ago, some friends of religion in Antigua, began to instruct the negro children in their neighbourhood, and after sometime, an institution was formed on that island, for the encouragement and support of Sunday Schools; but as its funds were not equal to its expenditure, a large part of the expense was borne by the Church Missionary Society. The number of children in these schools, by the last accounts was 1625, most of them young slaves. The beneficial effects of these schools, in checking vice, and promoting virtue, particularly among the young females, were of the most pleasing nature. In the island of Barbadoes, the Society assisted in supporting a school, which, by the last accounts, contained 143 children. The Church Missionary Society, has also been at considerable expense in publishing various works for circulation, among Heathen and Mahomedan nations. Among these were Pococke's Translation into Arabic, of Grotius on the Truth of the Christian Religion, abridged by Professor Macbride: Ostervald's Compendium of Scripture History, and Dialogues on the principal Doctrines of Christianity, in Arabic: The Way of Truth and Life, in Persic: The British System of Education, in Arabic, by Professor Macbride: Select Portions of the Book of Common Prayer, in Bullom, by the



Rev. Mr. Nylander: A Compendium of the Liturgy of the Church of England, in Hindostanee, by Mr. Corrie: A new edition of Pococke's Version of it, in Arabic was undertaken, and the greater part of it was translated into Persic, by an eminent Oriental scholar.<sup>f</sup> Highly as we admire the Church Missionary Society, and particularly the truly Christian spirit which it breathes, we cannot but deeply regret, the eagerness it shews to introduce among the Heathen the formularies of the Church of England. To enter into the general merits of her Liturgy, and Catechism, and Articles, would here be out of place; but even supposing them adapted to the state of Christians in this country, (a point which we by no means concede,) we do think, a moment's reflecting might convince their most unbounded admirers, that they are but little adapted to be useful to Heathens and Mahommedans, or even to the converts who may be made from among them.

<sup>f</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. iv. p. 146; vol. vi. p. 484.—Proceed. Ch. Miss. Soc. vol. iv. p. 302, 568, 583; vol. vi, p. 155; vol. vii. p. 207; vol. x. p. xv, 207, 210.



## CHAPTER TWELFTH.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE AMERICAN  
BOARD FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS. \*

## SECTION I.

## BOMBAY.

IN June 1810, the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, was appointed by the General Association of Massachusetts, in consequence of a representation from some students of divinity at Andover College, who had resolved to devote themselves to the service of the Redeemer among the heathen. This society consists chiefly

\* In separating this and the two following chapters, from our account of the propagation of Christianity by the Anglo-Americans, in Volume I. we are perhaps chargeable with an impropriety of arrangement; yet had we introduced them in so early a part of the work, we apprehend it would have been generally felt to be a still greater impropriety; as these missions not only took their rise from the general revival of a missionary spirit throughout the Christian world, but pre-suppose the existence of other missions in the East, of which we have only lately taken a view. Those, in fact, to which we have given the name of Anglo-American, might as well have been called *English* as *American* missions, since they were undertaken when the states of America were an integral part of the *British* dominions, and were supported chiefly by societies in England and Scotland. Those of which we are now to give an account are strictly speaking *American* missions.



of members of the Congregational churches in America.<sup>a</sup>

In February 1812, the Rev. Messrs. Judson, Newell, Hall, Nott, and Rice, sailed under the auspices of this institution for Calcutta, with the view of commencing a mission in such part of the Eastern world, as, on their arrival in India, should be deemed most eligible. Scarcely, however, had they reached the shores of India, when they were ordered by the British government to return in the same ships in which they came out, and they were given to understand that the vessels would not be allowed to depart without them. By the interposition, however, of the Baptist missionaries, and other friends of religion in Calcutta, these orders were afterwards relaxed, and they obtained permission to proceed to the Isle of France, which is not within the jurisdiction of the East India Company. Unhappily other circumstances now occurred which occasioned a separation among the missionaries. Two of them, Messrs. Judson and Rice, changed their sentiments on the subject of baptism, and at their own request were baptized by the Serampore missionaries. It was therefore deemed expedient, both by themselves and their friends, that they should separate and prosecute their labours in different fields.<sup>b</sup>

Previous to this, Mr. Newell had sailed for the Isle of France, agreeably to the arrangement with government. The voyage proved tedious, perilous,

<sup>a</sup> Panoplist, vol. iii. (N. S.) p. 88.—Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 347.

<sup>b</sup> Report of the Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, 1812, p. 7.—Ibid. 1813, p. 10.—Ibid. 1814, p. 18.—Memoirs of Mrs. Newell, 4th. Edit. p. 161, 165.



and distressing. In the course of it, Mrs. Newell was delivered of a daughter, which died within five days after its birth, and was consigned to a watery grave. She herself was now seized with symptoms of consumption, and soon after her arrival in the Isle of France, she followed her infant to the world of spirits. Amidst these trying scenes, she exhibited singular resignation to the will of Heaven; or if a murmuring thought arose at times in her breast, she quickly silenced it by those powerful considerations which the gospel affords. "My wicked heart," she wrote, "is inclined to think it hard that I should suffer such fatigue and hardship. I sinfully envy those whose lot it is to live in tranquillity on land. Happy people! ye know not the toils and trials of voyagers across the rough and stormy deep. Oh! for a little Indian hut on land! But hush my warring passions: It is for Jesus who sacrificed the joys of his Father's kingdom, and expired on a cross to redeem a fallen world, that I thus wander from place to place, and have no where a home. How reviving the thought! How great the consolation it yields to my sinking heart! Let the severest trials and disappointments fall to my lot, guilty and weak as I am, yet I think I can rejoice in the Lord, and joy in the God of my salvation." In the early part of her illness, she had some fears respecting her spiritual state; but these doubts were soon dispelled, and she used to talk in the most familiar manner, and with great delight of death, and of the glory that would follow. She wished it to be distinctly made known to her friends in America, that she had never regretted leaving her native land for the cause of Christ. A few days before her death, after one of those distressing fits



of coughing which rapidly wasted her feeble frame, she desired Mr. Newell to sit on her bed-side, and receive her dying message to her relatives. "Tell my dear mother," said she, "how much Harriet loved her: Tell her to look to God and keep near to him; and he will support and comfort her under all her trials." Then thinking of her brothers and sisters, she said, "Tell them from the lips of their dying sister, that there is nothing but religion worth living for. Oh! exhort them to attend immediately to the care of their precious and immortal souls. Tell them not to delay repentance. Let my dear brothers and sisters know that I loved them to the last. I hope to meet them in heaven: but Oh! if I should not" — Here she burst into tears, and was unable for the present to proceed further: her feelings, at the thought of an eternal separation from those she loved so dearly, were too big for utterance. As her dissolution approached, Mr. Newell told her she could not survive another day. "O joyful news," she replied, "I long to depart." Shortly after when he asked her, How death appeared to her now, she answered, "Glorious, truly welcome." Thus died the amiable and accomplished Harriet Newell at the early age of nineteen. Her cultivated understanding, her enlarged benevolence, her ardent piety, her cheerful fortitude, her active zeal, her entire devotedness to the cause of missions, had raised her high in the estimation of her Christian friends, and gave no ordinary promise of usefulness among the heathen; <sup>c</sup> yet mysterious as her early removal from the world may appear, we think it is not improbable,

<sup>c</sup> Memoirs of Mrs. Newell, p. 167, 174.



that her death contributed more to promote the glory of Christ among mankind, than would have been done by her life, in consequence of the deep and general interest in the cause of missions, which was excited both in America and Britain, by her interesting character, her affecting history, and her untimely end.

Messrs. Hall and Nott intended following Mr. Newell to the Isle of France ; but during their stay at Calcutta, they received such information as induced them to hope they might yet find it practicable to settle in some part of India. Having obtained a general passport from the police at Calcutta, they engaged a passage to Bombay, and were already contemplating their prospects with high satisfaction, when they met with a new and unexpected trial. After their luggage was on board the ship, they received notice from the police, that it was the will of government to have them conveyed to England, and that a passage would be provided for them in the fleet then under despatch. Having in vain used means to procure a repeal of this order, they resolved that as their passports were not revoked, they would go on board the vessel in which they had paid their passage, and in which they were regularly reported to the police as passengers, and there wait the event. The ship remained in the river a little below Calcutta, five or six days ; and though the police officers knew perfectly where they were, they never inquired after them. Having at length put to sea, they flattered themselves that all danger was now over ; but on arriving at Bombay, they found that a recommendation had already reached that presidency, from the supreme government in



Bengal, to send them to England. By means, however, of a respectful memorial to Sir Evan Nepean, the governor, they not only succeeded in explaining the circumstances under which they had left Calcutta, but they so completely satisfied him with respect to their designs, that he assured them of his disposition to render them every service in his power. He accordingly wrote a private letter to Lord Minto, the governor-general, with the view of removing any unfavourable impression which their abrupt departure from Calcutta might have made upon his mind, and of procuring permission for them to remain at Bombay, or to go unmolested to some other part of the world. By this letter, he seems to have satisfied his Lordship with respect to the character and proceedings of the missionaries; but as intelligence was in the meanwhile received of the commencement of hostilities between Britain and America, he considered himself as obliged by the orders he had received to send them to England. He wrote, however, once more in their behalf to Lord Minto; but yet he provided a passage for them on board a ship which was expected soon to sail.<sup>d</sup>

Having in the meanwhile various communications from Ceylon, encouraging them to come and settle on that island, the missionaries presented a memorial to Sir Evan Nepean, entreating that if they could not be allowed to remain in Bombay, they might be permitted to remove thither; but though the governor was personally anxious to grant their request, he did not consider himself as at liberty to deviate

<sup>d</sup> Panoplist, vol. ix. p. 129; vol. x. p. 182; vol. xi. p. 192.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1813, p. 130.—Ibid. 1814, p. 5, 18.



from the letter of his instructions. The ship in which they were to proceed to England, was now on the eve of sailing, and there appeared scarcely a gleam of hope of their being able to settle in the East. Having heard, however, of a vessel going to Cochin, and that she would give them a passage, if they could be ready to embark in four or five hours, they formed a sudden resolution to proceed by her, especially as they understood she would be able to convey them from thence to Ceylon. The ship, however, did not, on its arrival at Cochin, proceed immediately to Ceylon; and while they were seeking for a passage by some other conveyance, and just as one seemed to present itself, a cruiser arrived from Bombay with orders to carry them back to that presidency.

On returning to Bombay, they found Sir Evan Nepean much displeased with their private departure to Cochin, as from the favour he had shewn them, it might subject him to censure from the supreme government for connivance or delinquency. In a respectful and able memorial, however, which they presented to him, they justified their procedure on the principle that the authority of Christ Jesus, under which they had been sent forth to preach the gospel to the Heathen, was superior to any civil authority which would frustrate or counteract their labours; and that if prevented from prosecuting their mission in one place, they were expressly commanded by their Master "to flee to another." Though the governor was so far convinced by this faithful appeal to his understanding and conscience, as to allow them to leave the vessel in which they had returned to Bombay, he still considered himself as under the



necessity of sending them to England by the first regular conveyance.<sup>e</sup>

In the meanwhile, Earl Moira arrived in Bengal, as governor-general, in the room of Lord Minto, and an application was made to him by the friends of the missionaries in that quarter, for permission to them to remain in Bombay. His Lordship having manifested a favourable disposition toward them, private information of this was immediately transmitted to them; but though the intelligence was communicated to the governor, he still considered himself, as he had received no official notice of it, bound by his previous instructions and engagements, to send them to Europe. Shortly after, they were informed that a passage was provided for them on board a vessel which was to sail within two days. On receiving this painful intelligence, they presented another memorial to the governor, as a last appeal to his conscience and heart, entreating him not to send them to England, by the consideration of the spiritual miseries of the Heathen, who were daily perishing before his eyes and under his government, by the precious blood which Jesus shed to redeem them, by the solemn command he gave his servants to go and preach the gospel among all nations, by the grand solemnities of the judgment-day, when he would meet his Pagan subjects before the tribunal of God, and by other powerful arguments of a similar nature.

Having made this last effort to obtain liberty to remain in Bombay, until official notice of the intentions of the supreme government should be received

<sup>e</sup> Rep. Board For. Miss. 1814, p. 9, 24, 30, 32.



from Bengal, they proceeded with their preparations for sailing to England. Their packages were ready; the porters had come to carry them away; the boats were engaged to convey them on board the ship; every thing in short was prepared for their departure.

Meanwhile the last solemn appeal of the missionaries to the governor, had made so powerful an impression on his mind, that though it was intended merely as a private communication to himself, as a man and a Christian, he was so kind as to lay it before the Council, who agreed to allow them to remain at Bombay, until further instructions respecting them should be received from Calcutta. Distressed as they previously were, this intelligence raised their drooping spirits, and filled them with wonder, and gratitude, and joy. Happily they experienced no further trouble, but were allowed to remain in Bombay, and to pursue their peaceful labours among its benighted inhabitants.<sup>f</sup> We cannot close this account without expressing our high admiration of the singular wisdom and prudence, the decision and fortitude, the patience and devotedness of the missionaries, under these trying and difficult circumstances.

Here Messrs. Hall and Nott were afterwards joined by Mr. Newell, who after the death of his excellent wife had proceeded to Ceylon, and by other missionaries from America. Having applied with great diligence to the Mahratta language, they were soon able to make known the gospel to the Heathen: they were almost daily among them,

<sup>f</sup> Rep. Board For. Miss. 1814, p. 9, 24, 30, 32.—Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 191.



preaching in their houses and temples, in the streets and markets : with the same view they also made occasional excursions to the neighbouring continent. Nothing, however, could be more irregular or uncertain than a Heathen audience. Sometimes a proposed meeting was frustrated by an insidious Brahmin; sometimes a hopeful assembly was broken up by some angry mocker, or some obscene buffoon. Besides a Harmony of the Four Gospels, they translated into Mahratta the New Testament, and a considerable part of the Old. They also wrote and translated various tracts and other useful works, which they printed, and circulated among the natives. The education of youth was another object to which they paid much attention, and according to the last accounts, they had under their care fifteen schools, in which there were about seven hundred and fifty boys, who were instructed not only in the ordinary branches of education, but in the principles of Christianity. With the view of extending their operations, they established two other stations, one at Mahim, a place about six miles from the town of Bombay, containing 19,000 inhabitants : the other at Tanna, the principal town in the island of Salsette, which was formerly separated from Bombay by a narrow strait, but is now connected with it by a causeway, and contains about 60,000 inhabitants.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>s</sup> Rep. Board For. Miss. 1815, p. 7.—Ibid. 1817, p. 7.—Ibid. 1818, p. 7.—Ibid. 1819, p. 9, 12.—Ibid. 1820, p. 8, 15.—Panoplist, vol. xii. p. 34 ; vol. xiv. p. 227, 559.—Miss. Reg. vol. xi. p. 47.



## SECTION II.

## CHEROKEE AND CHOCTAW COUNTRY.

IN 1817, the Rev. Cyrus Kingsbury, and Messrs. Hall and Williams, settled in the district of Chickamaughah, in the Cherokee country, with the view of forming an establishment for promoting among the Indians the habits of civilized life, as well as of imparting to them the knowledge of Christianity. As the young Indians whom it was proposed to collect to this place, would constitute not only a school, but a large family, it was necessary to provide means for their support and their employment. A plantation was therefore purchased for the purposes of rural and domestic economy; and by almost incredible exertions, the missionary settlers in a short time erected a commodious dwelling-house, a schoolhouse, a mill, and some other buildings: they also cultivated the land, and stocked it with the most useful domestic animals. Soon after their arrival, they began to receive children into their family, to teach them the rudiments of the English language, the principles of Christianity, and the arts of civilized life. The progress of these youth in learning was uncommonly rapid: many of them, as has been often remarked of the Indians, learned faster than an equal number of English children. Besides attending school daily, the children, male and female, had their regular hours of labour; and it may be remarked that they worked much more cheerfully and constantly, than could have been expected. They were remarkably mild and gentle in their tempers, and were much less apt to quarrel



than an equal number of White children. It is said indeed to be a general characteristic of the Cherokees, that they are of a mild disposition, and not apt to quarrel, except when inflamed by whisky. The whole establishment was conducted with the strictest attention to order; the missionary settlers and their wives had each their appropriate employments; the children also had their time regularly devoted to particular pursuits. In connexion with the establishment at Brainerd, as this station was called in memory of that truly devoted and excellent missionary, schools were instituted at three other places, where the children attended for education, while they continued to live with their friends. The schools were established in consequence of the earnest solicitation of the natives; and indeed throughout the nation there was a general and strong impression in favour of the instruction of their children in the arts of civilized life: they saw, in fact, that they had no alternative but extermination or civilization.<sup>a</sup>

It had been the intention of the American government to procure an extended exchange of lands with the Cherokees and other Indian nations residing on the east of the Mississippi, and to remove them into the wilderness of the Arkansaw and of the Missouri. The Cherokees being urgently pressed with proposals in reference to this measure, were in great consternation and distress, and a delegation of twelve of their principal men was appointed by the council of the nation to proceed to Washington, to confer with the government relative to it. In the

<sup>a</sup> Rep. Board For. Miss. 1817, p. 13.—Ibid. 1818, p. 16, 18, —Ibid. 1819, p. 32, 37.—Ibid. 1820, p. 40, 45.



course of the negotiation, a principal argument employed by the Cherokees was, that their removal from their own country—where they had begun to cultivate the land, and had already made considerable progress in the arts of civilization,\* and where

\* The Cherokee Indians have, of late years, made considerable advances in many of the common and most useful arts of life. They assumed to a great extent, not only the habits, but the form of government of a civilized nation. In a full council, they adopted a simple constitution, and passed among others, laws to the following effect: that no individual should take the execution of justice into his own hands; that all criminal accusations should be established by testimony; that murderers should not be punished, until they were proved guilty before the council. There was also a law passed, imposing taxes to a small amount for the support of the government. More lately, they divided their country into eight districts or counties; laid a tax on the people to build a court-house in each of these counties, and appointed four circuit judges.

In January 1810, the Rev. Mr. Blackburn, who was for several years a missionary among the Cherokees, gave the following interesting account of the progress of this tribe of Indians, towards a state of civilization:

“In the nation there are 12,395 Indians. The number of females exceeds the males by 200. The Whites in the nation are 341. Of these 113 have Indian wives. Of Negro slaves there are 583. The number of their cattle is 19,500; of their horses 6,100; of their hogs 19,600; of their sheep 1,037.

“They have now in actual operation 13 grist mills; three saw-mills; three saltpetre works, and one powder mill. They have 30 waggons; about 500 ploughs; 1600 spinning wheels; 467 looms, and 49 silver smiths.

“Circulating specie is supposed to be as plenty among them as among the White people. Most of these advantages they have acquired since the year 1796, and particularly since 1803.

“If we deduct from the year the number of Sabbaths, and suppose that each spinning-wheel turns off six cuts a day, the produce of 1600 will be 250,400 dozen of yarn in one year;



a system of instruction for their general improvement, had commenced with the fairest prospect of success—into a boundless wilderness, where every thing would invite and impel them to revert to the hunting, wandering, and savage life—would frustrate

and this, when manufactured into cloth, will make 292,133 yards. If we suppose each loom to put off four yards a day, the produce of 467 will in a year amount to 584,684 yards.

“ Allow two hands to a wheel, 3,200 women will be employed in carding and spinning, 467 engaged in weaving, and as many to fill the quills.

“ If each plough be employed on only 10 acres, then 500 ploughs would cultivate 5000 acres, and would employ 1000 hands, as one must use the hoe after the plough. There is also nearly as much land in the nation wrought without a plough as with it; each acre will produce 50 bushels, which will be equal to 250,000, or 20 bushels to each person. The actual amount will double that sum.

“ The number of Bibles and Testaments circulated in the nation, including the children of the schools, is upwards of 600, besides a variety of other books.

“ On their roads they have many public houses, and on their rivers convenient ferries. There are many of them learning different trades, according to their particular inclinations. But as yet there is no church erected among them, and few of them appear to feel the impression of religion on their hearts.” *Panoplist*, vol. iii. p. 417; vol. i. (N. S.) p. 325; vol. ii. p. 474. —*Boston Miss. Herald*, vol. xvii. p. 73.

To this account by Mr. Blackburn, we may add the following interesting picture by Dr. Morse: “ The character of the Cherokees for courage, hospitality, and cleanliness, stands high. They are generally of a fine figure, polite in their manners, and fond of improvement in the arts. They are said universally to believe in the being of a God, and call him the *Great Spirit*, whose attributes are goodness and power. They never profane the name of God in their own language: they have no words to express such profanity.”—*Morse's Report to the Secretary of War on Indian Affairs*, p. 153.



the desires of the better part of the nation, and destroy the hopes of their benevolent friends, and in effect doom them to extermination. This argument appears to have had weight with the government; and the delegation instead of finding themselves obliged to sign a virtual surrender of their country, had the high satisfaction of putting their signatures to a treaty of a very different description. This treaty, after a cession of lands by the Cherokees, in consideration of a portion of the nation having emigrated to the Arkansaw, and having had lands assigned to them in that quarter, secured to them the remainder of their country in perpetuity; and of the ceded lands, an appropriation was made of about a hundred thousand acres, for a perpetual school fund, to be applied under the direction of the President of the United States, to the instruction of the Cherokees on the east side of the Mississippi. This must be considered by all who wish well to the American aborigines, as a signally auspicious event. It shews on the part of the government not only a conviction that the Indians can be civilized, but a settled and generous purpose to patronize and aid the benevolent work. It also provides funds, which ultimately will not be small, for promoting the design; and it is likely to have a propitious influence not only on the Cherokees, but on others of the Indian tribes.<sup>b</sup>

Shortly after this important point was settled, Mr. Munroe, the President of the United States, accompanied by General Gaines and his lady, visited Brainerd. The missionary settlers expected that the President would call as he passed, but supposed they

<sup>b</sup> Rep. Board For. Miss. 1818, p. 38.



would hear of his approach, and thus have an opportunity of making a little preparation for receiving him ; but so silent was his approach, that they had no information that he had left Georgia, till he was announced as at the door. In thus taking them by surprise, he had an opportunity of seeing their ordinary mode of procedure, and perhaps it was best on the whole that he had this view of the establishment. He examined the buildings and farms, visited the school, and asked various questions in the most familiar and unaffected manner ; and was pleased to express his approbation of the plan of instruction, particularly as the children were taken into the family, taught to work, as well as instructed in reading and in the principles of religion. He thought this the best, and perhaps the only way to civilize and Christianize the Indians, and assured them he was well pleased with the conduct and improvement of the children. They had just nearly finished a log cabin for the girls ; but he said such a building was not good enough, and authorized them to erect a more comfortable house, at the public expense. “ Make a good house,” said he, “ having due regard to economy.” We feel peculiar pleasure in recording this visit, in which the dignified condescension, the generous philanthropy, and the paternal character of the President of the United States were displayed in so interesting a light. Here it may be remarked, that the American government appears to be most anxious to promote the civilization and improvement of the Indian tribes. When this mission was commenced, assurance was given by the Executive, that for each establishment, the expenses of erecting a schoolhouse and a dwellinghouse should be defrayed



from the public funds, and that various kinds of implements for husbandry and domestic manufacture should be furnished. Congress afterwards passed an act appropriating ten thousand dollars annually to be applied, under the direction of the President, to the instruction of the Indian tribes. The favourable disposition manifested by the American government towards the civilization of the aborigines of the country, is certainly a most important circumstance, not only on account of the direct pecuniary aid which is thus afforded, but for the security which it gives to the Indians themselves and to those who are engaged in this labour of benevolence, that their operations will not be frustrated by those at the head of affairs. An opposite policy would have had a very dark and disastrous aspect.<sup>c</sup>

Besides attending to the education of the children, the missionaries preached the gospel not only in their immediate neighbourhood, but at various other places in the surrounding country. Their congregations consisted of Indians, Negroes, and White people, and several of each of these classes of persons appeared to be deeply impressed with religion. A number of them were admitted as members of the church, and gave pleasing evidence of having experienced a change of heart.<sup>d</sup>

In May 1818, the Rev. Mr. Kingsbury and Mr. Williams left the settlement of Brainerd, which had already begun to assume a flourishing aspect, and proceeded to the Choctaw country, about four

<sup>c</sup> Rep. Board For. Miss. 1819, p. 40.—Ibid. 1820, p. 68.

<sup>d</sup> Rep. Board For. Miss. 1817, p. 16.—Ibid. 1818, p. 20.—Ibid. 1819, p. 32.—Ibid. 1820, p. 39.



hundred miles to the south-west, with the view of forming a similar establishment among the Indians in that quarter. To this station they gave the name of Eliot, in affectionate memorial of the venerable "Apostle of the Indians." Here, after much anxiety and toil in clearing the land, and in erecting houses, they opened a school for the children of the Choctaw Indians. In the grand objects of the establishment, the Indians themselves manifested the deepest interest, and of this they gave such unequivocal proofs, as are perhaps without a parallel among unenlightened and uncivilized tribes. Soon after the arrival of the missionaries, one of their chiefs gave for the school two hundred dollars, to be paid annually out of the annuity received by that part of the tribe from the United States. It having also been proposed in the council of the nation, that such individuals as felt interested in the school, should give cows, and calves, and money, in aid of it, a subscription was opened on the spot, and eighty-five cows and calves, and five hundred dollars to be paid annually, and seven hundred dollars as a donation to the establishment, or yearly, as long as their children were at school, were subscribed.<sup>c</sup> This, however, was not all. Three or four years before, the Choctaws had sold a tract of country to the United States, for which they were to receive six thousand dollars annually for seventeen years. The nation is divided into three districts, called the Upper, the Lower, and the Six towns; and each of these districts voted the sum of two thousand dollars, the proportion

<sup>c</sup> Panoplist. vol. xiv. p. 389.—Rep. Board For. Miss. 1818, p. 23.—Ibid. 1819, p. 41.



due to it, for the establishment of a school similar to that at Brainerd, only it was provided by one of the districts, that the half of its annuity should be appropriated to the erection and support of a blacksmith's shop, with iron, and the necessary utensils, for the accommodation of the Indians. According to these resolutions, the Choctaws were to contribute upwards of a hundred thousand dollars to the grand objects of the mission. It was the endeavour of the missionaries to impress on their minds the advantages of instruction, and the propriety of their contributing towards the education of their own children, as they considered it as in every point of view of high importance that they should learn to help themselves. By commencing on a liberal and extensive scale for their improvement, they drew forth a spirit of liberality on their part, as unexpected as it was encouraging.<sup>f</sup>

In conformity with the grant of the Choctaws, a new settlement was begun in the district of the Lower towns, at a place about a hundred miles south-east from Eliot. To this station was assigned the appropriate name of Mayhew; and another establishment was afterwards formed in the district of the Six towns, which was called Newell. These establishments among the Choctaws must be considered as of the highest importance. Notwithstanding the anxiety they manifested for the improvement of their children, they continued the slaves of ignorance, superstition, and vice. Numbers were every year butchered in the most inhuman manner, be-

<sup>f</sup> Rep. Board For. Miss. 1819, p. 45.—Ibid. 1820, p. 52.—Panoplist, vol. xvi. p. 188.



cause they were supposed to possess the power of witchcraft. Intemperance abounded among them, and many of the Whites in the neighbouring settlements, unblushingly set at defiance the laws prohibiting the introduction into the country of spirituous liquors. On the communication to the rising generation of the salutary influences of civilized and Christian education, rested the only hope of rescuing them from the avarice of unprincipled White men, and from the dreadful consequences of their own unbridled appetites and passions. <sup>g</sup>

In July 1820, the Rev. A. Finney, and C. Washburn, accompanied by Messrs. Hitchcock and Orr, after a long and toilsome journey, arrived among that portion of the Cherokee nation, in number about six thousand, who in consequence of an exchange of lands with the government of the United States, had emigrated to the Arkansaw. Here they began a missionary station which they called Dwight, after the late distinguished President of Yale College. <sup>h</sup> We feel peculiar pleasure in recording these exertions of our American brethren, for the conversion and civilization of the aborigines of that vast continent, as from the scale on which they are conducted, and the energy and zeal with which they are prosecuted, they hold out a fairer prospect of extensive and permanent success, than any of the attempts which had previously been made for the accomplishment of that important object.

<sup>g</sup> Rep. Board For. Miss. 1820, p. 55.—Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 112, 113.

<sup>h</sup> Rep. Board For. Miss. 1820, p. 57.—Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 116.



## SECTION III.

## SANDWICH ISLANDS.

IN October 1819, sailed from Boston for the Sandwich Islands, the Rev. H. Bingham, and A. Thurston, Dr. Thomas Holman, physician, Messrs. D. Chamberlain, agriculturist, S. Whitney, mechanic, catechist, and schoolmaster, S. Ruggles, catechist and schoolmaster, E. Loomis, printer, and John Honoooree, Thomas Hopoo, and William Tannoee, natives of the Sandwich Islands, who had been educated in the Foreign Mission School in America,<sup>\*</sup> and having given evidence of Christian piety, were now sent forth as teachers to their countrymen.<sup>a</sup> They were also accompanied by George, the son of Tamoree, the chief of Atooi, one of the Sandwich Islands. After a voyage of about five months, they reached Owhyhee in safety, and on their arrival, they were astonished to learn that Tamahamaha, the king was dead, the taboos broken, the idols burnt, the morais destroyed, and the priesthood abolished. For several years past, the Sandwich Islands had been making considerable advances towards a state of civilization. Tamahamaha, the late king, was a man of extraordinary talents; he was very fond of property, and of commerce as a means of acquiring it; he possessed three brigs, a schooner, and several small craft, and had large warehouses built of stone, and full of various articles, particularly axes, hoes,

<sup>a</sup> Rep. Board For. Miss. 1820, p. 60.

<sup>\*</sup> For an account of this institution, see Appendix, No. I.



fire-arms, and other weapons of war. He had also a fort mounted with guns, and sentinels regularly on duty; his control over the persons and property of his subjects was absolute; and with the view of maintaining his authority over them, it was part of his policy to keep them poor and dependant. He was also high priest, an office which he assumed many years ago, with the view of supporting by means of it his political authority. Upon his death, he was succeeded by his son Rehoreho, who was only twenty-three years of age. Just about the time the missionaries sailed from America, the young king came to the resolution of destroying the whole system of idolatry. Orders were accordingly issued, to set the morais and sacred buildings in Owhyhee on fire, and while the flames were raging, the idols were thrown down and cast into the devouring element. Injunctions, to the same effect, were sent to Woa-hoo and Atooi, and they were promptly obeyed on both islands. In Atooi, the morais and consecrated buildings, with the idols were set on fire the evening after the order arrived. The inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands, had heard of the astonishing revolution which had taken place in Otaheite and the neighbouring islands, and it is probable, that the rumour had no inconsiderable influence in bringing about this singular change.<sup>b</sup>

Such circumstances as these, could scarcely fail to strike the missionaries on their arrival, with astonishment, and to fill them with the most auspicious hopes; but they did not find the inhabitants of the Sandwich Islands in that state of preparation for the reception of

<sup>b</sup> Miss. Herald, vol. xvi. p. 166; vol. xvii. p. 111, 117.



the gospel, which these circumstances might very naturally lead them to anticipate. The change was certainly extraordinary, especially when we consider the time when it took place; but there is no reason to conclude, that on the part of the mass of the population, it proceeded from any rational or heartfelt conviction of the folly and criminality of idolatry: it resulted in the first instance, simply from the authority of an absolute prince, and was probably not a little promoted by that spirit of frenzy, which in the work of destruction is so apt to seize upon the populace. Many of the people, indeed, still preserved their idols; and the inhabitants generally were as destitute of any just views of religion, and were as much addicted to their favourite vices as before. When the views of the missionaries in undertaking so distant a voyage, were stated to the King Rehareho, he was in no haste to grant them permission to settle among his people, and he even seemed to view them with considerable jealousy; and when he did at last give his consent for them to remain, he wished them all to settle at one place under his own immediate eye, and he expressly desired that no others should come out, unless perhaps it was a carpenter. Some apprehensions were started, that Great Britain might not be pleased were they to receive missionaries from America; reports were circulated that the missionaries at Otaheite had usurped the government, and monopolized the trade of the Society Islands; and insinuations were thrown out that the Americans would come and take possession of the Sandwich Islands. But notwithstanding these apprehensions, some of the missionaries were allowed to take up their residence in Owhyhee, others



in Woahoo, and others in Atooi; but after a few months the station at Owhyhee was abandoned, in consequence of the removal of the king to Woahoo, and of other untoward circumstances. <sup>c</sup> \*

By Tamoree, the chief of Atooi, the missionaries were received with much more confidence than by Rehoreho. His son George, who came out with them, and who had been many years in America, gave him most favourable representations of the Americans, and of the designs of the missionaries. Tamoree, accordingly, was most anxious that they would settle in Atooi. He said he would support the whole mission family if they would come thither; that he would be a father to them as they had been to his son; and that he would build as many school-houses as they wished, erect a large church, and establish a Sabbath-day. He accordingly proceeded to build them a large and commodious house, and he made them a present of two pieces of land, yielding taro, potatoes, bananas, sugar-cane, and cocoa nuts in abundance. There were also two fish ponds attached to the land, which furnished them with excellent fish, and they had a small flock of goats which supplied them with milk. In short, he provided for their various wants with all the care of a fond and indulgent father. Both he and his queen manifested a great desire to learn to read: wherever they went they carried their books with them, and

<sup>c</sup> Miss. Herald, vol. xvii. p. 112, 116, 118, 120.—Miss. Chron. vol. ii. p. 332.—Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 99; vol. xi. p. 70.

\* Woahoo is about 130 miles from Owhyhee; Atooi about 250. Next to Owhyhee, they are two of the largest of the Sandwich Islands, each of them being about 520 square miles in extent.



even while bathing in the water, they would stand with their books in their hands repeating their lessons. His son George also treated the missionaries with much attention, but his influence was small owing to his dissipation. With his assistance, however, they trained the horse of Atooi to draw the plough, and had the pleasure of seeing the fertile soil of that island turned over by that useful implement of husbandry.<sup>d</sup>

Though Rehoreho was by no means so favourable to the missionaries as Tamoree, yet immediately on their settling with him he also became their pupil, and in a short time he was able to read intelligibly in the New Testament. Among their scholars, there were several others of the principal personages on the island. The missionaries at first instructed them in the English language; but as this could be of comparatively little use to them, they after acquiring some knowledge of the native language, printed a small spelling book in it, and began to teach them their mother tongue. In the island of Woahoo, the number of pupils under the care of the missionaries, amounted to about one hundred and fifty. A place of worship was also erected, capable of containing about two hundred people. It was built in the native style, thatched with grass, and lined with mats; but furnished with glass windows, a decent pulpit, and a number of seats. When, however, the missionaries made known the gospel to the islanders, though many of them listened with attention, the general sentiment expressed by them was:

<sup>d</sup> Miss. Herald, vol. xvii. p. 112, 123.—Scot. Miss. Reg. vol. ii. p. 212.—Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 100; vol. xi. 71.



“ We are waiting for the king to learn, and make public declaration that he approves of the message you bring, and the object you propose.” The king, as we have already mentioned in our account of the London Missionary Society, at last gave his decision in favour of the gospel; but though idolatry had been formally abolished near three years before, yet many of the idols were still in existence, and in the windward part of Owhyhee, upwards of a hundred were brought forth and committed to the flames in one day. From two of the natives who accompanied them, Hopoo and Honooree, the missionaries received considerable assistance; but the other, William Tennooe, soon after his arrival, declined from the strictness of the Christian life, and was separated from the church.<sup>e</sup>

Though the chiefs of the Sandwich Islands, allowed the missionaries to take up their residence among them, and even shewed them many acts of kindness, yet there were not wanting attempts on the part of unprincipled foreigners, to excite prejudices in the minds of the natives against them, and the grand object of their labours. It is well known that in most of the islands of the Pacific Ocean, men are to be found who have run away from the restraints of civilized society, and wish to practise wickedness, without reproof, and without shame. Among the multitude of occasional visitors, it was also to be expected that there would be some of a similar character. Now as the very existence of a virtuous little community before their eyes was in itself

<sup>e</sup> Miss. Herald, vol. xvii. p. 112, 121.—Miss. Reg. vol. xi. p. 71.—Miss. Chron. vol. ii. p. 335, 337.



a keen reproof, it was nothing more than might have been anticipated, that attempts would be made by some of the foreigners resident in the Sandwich Islands, to embarrass the operations of the missionaries, and to excite the jealousy of the chiefs and people. But while there were some who endeavoured to raise opposition to the mission, there were others who generously contributed to its support. The missionaries having opened a subscription for the establishment of an orphan school, upwards of two thousand dollars were contributed for this object, chiefly by visitors from Britain and America. They also contributed between four and five hundred dollars to the erection of a church.<sup>f</sup>

In November 1822, the Rev. W. Richards, C. S. Stewart, A. Bishop, Dr. Blatchley, physician, and several other laymen, acquainted with some of the more ordinary and most useful arts, and three native youths who had been educated in the Foreign Mission School, amounting in all to about thirty persons, sailed from New Haven for the Sandwich Islands, in order to strengthen this very important and interesting mission.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Miss. Chron. vol. ii. p. 333.—Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 99; vol. xi. p. 70, 71.

<sup>g</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. xi. p. 70.—Evan. Mag. vol. i. (N. S.) p. 173.—New York Christ. Herald, vol. viii. p. 467.



## CHAPTER THIRTEENTH.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE AMERICAN  
BAPTIST BOARD FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

## BURMAH.

IN May 1814, was instituted at Philadelphia, the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions for the United States. Near two years previous to the establishment of this institution, Messrs. Judson and Rice, two missionaries of the American Board for Foreign Missions, had, on their arrival in Bengal, changed their sentiments on the subject of baptism, and were baptized at Calcutta, by the Serampore missionaries. Scarcely, indeed, had they landed, when they received orders from the India government to return immediately to America, in the same ship in which they came out; but this mandate was afterwards so far modified, that they obtained permission to go to the Isle of France, which is not within the dominion of the Company. But as they were not immediately able to obtain a conveyance to that island, the government, probably imagining that they intended to remain in Bengal, issued a peremptory order for their being sent on board one of the Company's vessels, bound to England, and their names were accordingly inserted in the public papers as passengers. Having heard, however, of a ship which was to sail for the Isle of France in two days, they applied for a passport from the chief magistrate, but this was refused. They, therefore, made known



their circumstances to the captain, and asked him whether he would take them on board without a passport, to which, he replied that he would be neutral: there was his ship, they might do as they pleased. Having, with the assistance of the gentleman in whose house they resided, obtained coolies to convey their baggage on board, they embarked at twelve o'clock at night. The ship, however, had proceeded down the river only two days, when a despatch was received from government, prohibiting the pilot to go farther, as there were passengers on board who had been ordered to England. It was one o'clock in the morning when this order arrived; but yet they immediately went on shore. They knew not, however, what course now to take, feeling assured that if they returned to Calcutta, they would be sent to England, and yet, if they continued at that place, they would as certainly be discovered. They, therefore, went down the river as far as Fultah, about fifty miles below Calcutta. Here they partook, in some measure, of the feelings of those who are every moment expecting to be discovered; and though they were conscious of having done their duty in refusing to comply with the orders of government, they could not help feeling alarmed at the arrival of every boat, and the appearance of every new face. In this painful situation, they remained four days, anxiously applying to every ship which passed down the river, for admittance to whatever port it was bound. At last, when they had given up all hope of escape, and were thinking of returning to Calcutta, a letter was handed to Mr. Judson, containing a pass to go on board the ship they had so lately left. The vessel,



however, had already gone down the river four days, and was probably out at sea. It was then dark; but they immediately went on board their boats, and after rowing hard all night, and all next day, they had the inexpressible pleasure of discovering the ship at anchor in Saugur roads, having been detained much longer than was expected, from the circumstance that some of the Lascars had not arrived. On reaching the Isle of France, Mr. Rice proceeded to America, with the view of interesting the Baptist churches in that country, in the mission, and obtaining their support. His efforts in this respect, were eminently successful, and led to the establishment of the Board for Foreign Missions, and to the organization of numerous auxiliary societies over the whole country for its support.<sup>a</sup> Thus the change in the sentiments of Messrs. Judson and Rice, on the subject of baptism, which, combined as it was with other inauspicious circumstances, threw a dark cloud over the first efforts of America to extend Christianity beyond her own boundaries, terminated in calling forth more powerfully the energies of a numerous body of Christians in that country in support of missions to the heathen, and like the difference between Paul and Barnabas, contributed ultimately to the furtherance of the gospel.

In the meanwhile, Mr. Judson and his excellent wife, after waiting in vain at the Isle of France for a passage to some of the eastern islands, sailed for Madras, with the view of proceeding from thence,

<sup>a</sup> Proceedings of the Baptist Convention for Missionary Purposes, 1814, p. 3, 27.—Reports of the Baptist Board of Foreign Missions, p. 12, 68, 142.—Mrs. Judson's Account of the American Baptist Mission to the Burman Empire, p. 10.



as circumstances might direct. On their landing, however, they were reported at the police office, and an account of their arrival was transmitted to the supreme government in Bengal. As, therefore, it was highly probable that as soon as an order could arrive from Calcutta, they would be arrested and sent to England, their only safety consisted in escaping from Madras before such instructions were received. Under these circumstances, it may easily be conceived with what anxious feelings, Mr. Judson inquired the destination of the vessels in the roads of Madras. To his great disappointment, he found that none would sail that season, except a small Portuguese vessel to Rangoon. A mission to the Burman empire, they had been accustomed to contemplate with feelings of horror, from the accounts they had received of the sanguinary character of the government of that country, and of the barbarity of the people. The matter, however, was now brought to a point; either they must go thither, or be sent to England. Contrary to the advice of all their friends, they resolved to proceed to Rangoon, as from finding their path so hedged in, they thought the hand of Providence pointed to the Burman Empire as the scene of their future labours. With what truly Christian feelings they proceeded thither, is finely depicted in the following extracts of a letter from Mrs. Judson, to her friends in America: "My heart," says she, "often sinks within me, when I think of living among a people whose tender mercies are cruel. But when I reflect on their miserable state as destitute of the gospel, and that it is easy for our heavenly Father to protect us in the midst of danger, I feel willing to go,



and live, and die among them, and it is our daily prayer, that it may please God to enable us to continue in that savage country. Farewell to the privileges and conveniences of civilized life! Farewell to refined Christian society! We shall enjoy these comforts no more; but Burmah will be a good place to grow in grace, to live near to God, and to be prepared to die! O my dear parents and sisters, how little do you know how to estimate your enjoyments, in your quiet homes, with all the comforts of life! How little do you know how to prize Christian society, as you have never been deprived of it! How little can you realize the toils and perplexities of traversing the ocean; and how little can you know of the solid comfort of trusting in God, when dangers stand threatening to devour! But these privations, these dangers, these comforts are ours, and we rejoice in them, and think it an inestimable privilege that our heavenly Father has given us, in allowing us to suffer for his cause."

Just as they sailed, a valuable European servant, whom they were taking with them, dropped down on board, gasped a few times, and then expired. Mrs. Judson received such a shock from this awful event, that she was immediately taken dangerously ill. She thought that the time of her departure was at hand, and that all her toils and perplexities were at an end; while her excellent husband felt all those painful sensations which naturally resulted from the expectation of an immediate separation from one whom he loved, and who was now the only remaining companion of his wanderings. After sometime, however, she began to recover, though, on arriving at Rangoon, she was still so feeble, that she was



scarcely capable of being removed ashore. At the first sight of that place, they felt very gloomy and dejected; but by degrees, they became not only reconciled; but even attached to the country. "We had never before," says Mr. Judson, "seen a place where European influence had not contributed to smooth and soften the rough features of uncultivated nature. The prospect of Rangoon, as we approached, was quite disheartening. I went on shore at night, to take a view of the place; but so dark, and cheerless, and unpromising did all things appear, that the evening of that day, after my return to the ship, we have marked as the most gloomy and distressing we ever passed. Such was our weakness, that we felt we had no portion here below, and found consolation only in looking beyond our pilgrimage, which we flattered ourselves would be short, to that peaceful region, where the wicked cease from troubling, and where the weary are at rest. But if ever we commended ourselves sincerely, and without reserve to the disposal of our heavenly Father, it was on this evening; and after some recollections and prayer, we experienced something of the presence of him who cleaveth closer than a brother; something of that peace which our Saviour bequeathed to his followers, and which endures when the fleeting and unsubstantial riches of this world have passed away. We soon began to find that it was in our hearts, to live and to die with the Burmans."

Having now reached the scene of their labours, they took up their residence in the mission house,

<sup>b</sup> Judson's Account, p. 15.—New York Christ. Herald, vol. iii. p. 277.—Rep. Bapt. Board For. Miss. p. 38.



which had been erected by the Baptist missionaries from Serampore, and which lay about half a mile from the town, in the midst of woods. They found it necessary to proceed with extreme caution, as one unadvised step might excite the suspicion of so despotic a government, and plunge all in ruin. The language they found extremely difficult, and they had no teacher who understood both Burman and English. Their only mode of ascertaining the names of objects which met their eye, was to point to them in the presence of their teacher, who gave them the names in Burman. They then expressed them as nearly as possible by the Roman character, till they had sufficiently acquired the Burman. They spent their time in great solitude, and passed through much personal and family affliction: they were often harassed with midnight alarms, and on account of the frequent and daring robberies committed in their neighbourhood, they removed to Rangoon; but in the course of a few weeks, they were driven from thence, as the whole of that town was laid in ashes.<sup>c</sup>

In October 1816, they had the pleasure of welcoming to their lonely habitation, Mr. and Mrs. Hough, who had been sent from America to assist them in their labours. After a seclusion from all Christian society for three years, it was no common gratification to them to meet again with friends and fellow-labourers from their native country. Mr. Hough possessed a knowledge of printing, and hav-

<sup>c</sup> Rep. Bapt. Board For. Miss. p. 38, 102, 154.—Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 486; vol. vi. p. 63, 228.—Circular Letters relative to the Bapt. Miss. Soc. vol. ix. p. 276, 297.—Judson's Account, p. 22, 61.



ing visited Bengal in his way to Burmah, he received from the Serampore missionaries, the valuable present of a press, and types, in the Burman character. He immediately proceeded to print a tract by Mr. Judson, containing a summary of the principles of the Christian religion; a catechism by Mrs. Judson, and a translation of the Gospel by Matthew.\* The circulation of these small pieces, excited considerable attention among the Burmans, and many called at the mission house to make inquiry about the new religion; but they remarked that their visitors often betrayed a fear, lest others should discover their errand. Sometimes, when two or three intimate friends were seriously engaged in conversation on religious subjects, if others with whom they were unacquainted, called, they became silent and went away. In several instances the hopes of the missionaries were raised by the apparent seriousness of some of the Burmans; but their goodness proved like the morning cloud and the early dew, which passeth away.<sup>d</sup>

Mr. Judson was now anxious to commence in a more public manner, the preaching of the gospel; but he, at the same time, felt the importance of beginning in a way, the least calculated to excite the prejudices of the Burmans. He had heard of the conversion of several Arracanese at Chittagong, one of the stations connected with the Baptist mission in India, and thinking that as they spoke the Burman language, he might find among them some

<sup>d</sup> Judson's Account, p. 74, 76, 89, 96, 98.

\* These three works, Mrs. Judson, with the assistance of her teacher, afterwards translated into the Siamese language. *Judson's Account*, p. 158.



one who would be able to afford him assistance in communicating divine truth to the Burmans, he proceeded thither, partly with this view, and partly for the sake of his health, which had of late been on the decline. The voyage did not usually occupy more than ten or twelve days, and the vessel was expected to return immediately. Three months, however, had nearly expired, when a boat arrived from Chittagong, bringing the distressing intelligence, that neither Mr. Judson nor the vessel had been heard of at that port, a report which was corroborated by communications which were about the same time received from Bengal. Such intelligence must have been very painful to Mrs. Judson; yet she was doomed to experience for other four months, that agonizing state of suspense, which is frequently more distressing than the most dreadful certainty. <sup>c</sup>

Two or three days after the arrival of this painful intelligence, Mr. Hough received an order, couched in the most menacing language, to appear immediately at the court house. The message spread consternation and alarm among their domestics and adherents, several of whom followed him at a distance, and heard the appalling words from some of the petty officers, that a royal order had arrived for the banishment of all foreign teachers. As it was late when Mr. Hough reached the court house, he was merely ordered to give security for his appearance at an early hour next day, when he was told, "If he did not tell all the truth relative to his situation in the country, they would write with his

<sup>c</sup> Judson's Account, p. 103, 112, 118.



heart's blood." The embarrassments of the missionaries at this period, were greatly increased, by the circumstance that the viceroy and his family, who had always been their steady friends, had been recently recalled to Ava, and the present viceroy, with whom they had but a slight acquaintance, had left his family at the capital. Mr. Hough was not sufficiently acquainted with the language, to allow of his appealing in person to the viceroy, and, as it is not customary for females to appear at his court in the absence of his lady, they had nothing before them, but the prospect of being obliged to submit to all those evils which it is often in the power of petty officers to inflict on those who are unprotected by higher authority.

The two following days, Mr. Hough was detained at the court house, and was under the necessity of answering through an interpreter, the most trivial questions, as, what were the names of his parents, how many suits of clothes he had, all which were written down in the most formal manner imaginable. The court would not allow him to retire for any refreshment, and this, together with several other petty grievances, convinced them that it was the object of the court, to harass and distress them as much as possible, thinking that they were not in circumstances to appeal to the viceroy, who does not usually attend these courts, but has cases of importance submitted to him privately for his decision. Next morning, which was sabbath, another message was received from the court house, for Mr. Hough's appearance, that the examination might be continued. They now, however, resolved to ascertain whether these orders emanated from



the viceroy, or whether he was entirely ignorant of them. Mrs. Judson's teacher having come in just at that time, drew up a petition to the viceroy, stating the grievances to which Mr. Hough had been subjected, and the order for his appearance that day which was their sacred day, and requesting that his highness would give directions that he should no longer be molested. Accompanied by Mr. Hough, Mrs. Judson proceeded to the government house; and on reaching the outer court, she caught the eye of the viceroy, who sat surrounded by the officers of his court, but having recognized her, he in a very condescending manner called her to come in and make known her request. She therefore presented her petition to one of the secretaries, who was immediately ordered to read it; and after hearing it, the viceroy inquired in an austere manner, at the very officer who had been most forward in making Mr. Hough's situation unpleasant at the court house, "Why the examination of this foreign teacher had been prolonged." He, at the same time, gave orders that he should be molested no longer. The officers of government now saw their plan defeated, which probably was to extort from Mr. Hough a large reward for his liberation. It was, however, a fact, that a royal order had been received for the banishment of all the Portuguese priests in the country. To ascertain who they were, the viceroy had issued an order, that all foreign priests should appear at the court house, not intending that any but the Portuguese should undergo an examination, farther than to ascertain that they were not Portuguese.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Judson's Account, p. 113.



The trials and dangers of the missionaries were not a little increased at this period, by a report that differences had arisen between the English and Burman governments, and that an attempt would soon be made by the English to take possession of the country. This report appeared to be confirmed by the circumstance, that there had been no arrivals from any English port for some months past, and that the few remaining captains were making every possible effort to hasten the departure of their ships. The only vessel which remained was now on the eve of departure, and unless the missionaries embraced this opportunity of leaving the country, there was nothing before them but dangers of the most appalling nature. Mr. Hough had for some time past been anxious to remove with his family, and Mrs. Judson, to Bengal; but as amidst their other trials, she had heard nothing of Mr. Judson, she was unwilling to leave the country until she received some intelligence concerning him. She at last, however, acquiesced, though with the greatest reluctance, in Mr. Hough's proposal; and actually embarked with him and his family for Bengal; but as the vessel was detained several days in the river, she with a singular degree of Christian heroism, resolved to give up the voyage and return to Rangoon. She reached town in the evening, spent the night at the house of the only Englishman who remained in the place, and next day returned to the mission house to the great joy of all the Burmans left on the premises. Here surrounded by dangers on every hand, and without any friend or protector, she felt calm and tranquil, persuaded, that though the course she pursued might appear to others rash and presump-



tuous, it was the path of duty. Ten days after her return, the vessel in which Mr. Judson had sailed arrived at Rangoon. The captain had not been able to reach Chittagong, and after being tossed about in the bay near three months, he made Masulipatam. There Mr. Judson left the ship, and proceeded immediately to Madras, in the hope of finding a passage from that place to Rangoon. This intelligence was some relief to the mind of Mrs. Judson, as she had hitherto been apprehensive that the ship and all on board were lost; yet still she was in a state of suspense as to Mr. Judson's return. She, however, daily pursued her studies, which she found one of the best means of preserving her mind from dejection; and indeed her conscience would not permit her to sit idly down, indulging in those feelings of despondency which she conceived to be inconsistent with the Christian character. Mr. Judson at length arrived in safety, after an absence of about eight months, during which time he had passed through various trials, as well as experienced much anxiety from the circumstances in which he was placed. Mr. Hough and his family had also in the meanwhile returned to the mission house, the ship not having been able to proceed on its voyage for some weeks. §

In November 1817, the Rev. Edward W. Wheelock, and James Colman, sailed from Boston for Calcutta, with the view of joining the Burman mission. Both of these excellent young men, burned with desire to proclaim the glad tidings of salvation to the perishing heathen. Scarcely have we ever

§ Judson's Account, p. 118, 125.



seen the passion for missions more ardently expressed, than in the letter which Mr. Wheelock addressed to the Board when he offered himself as a missionary. "Language fails me," says he, "when I attempt to describe my feelings on this subject. 'Thought is poor, and poor expression.' To you honoured Fathers, I offer, freely and joyfully offer myself to become your missionary, to aid those already under your patronage, in turning the poor Burmans from idols to serve the living and true God. And O! if it is consistent that one so unworthy, and so unqualified as myself should engage in this glorious work, deny me not I beseech you the unspeakable privilege; deny me not the fondest, the most ardent desire of my soul that can in this world be gratified. To deny me this would be to deny me the greatest happiness which in this world I can possibly enjoy. I had rather be a missionary of the cross, than a king on his throne. Let the men of this world possess its glittering toys; let the miser grasp his cankered gold; let the voluptuary enjoy his sensual pleasures; let the ambitious ascend the pinnacle of earthly honour; but let me enjoy the sweet satisfaction of directing the poor pagans to the Lamb of God. I covet no greater good; I desire no greater joy; I seek no greater honour. To Burmah would I go; in Burmah would I live; in Burmah would I toil; in Burmah would I die; and in Burmah would I be buried." The parting scene with Mr. Wheelock and his fellow missionaries was truly affecting. The parents, and brothers, and sisters of the missionaries, and indeed all who were present, wept; many fell on their necks and kissed them, sorrowing most of all that they should see



their faces no more. None discovered so much fortitude as the missionaries themselves. While their friends were all weeping around them, they manifested the greatest firmness. As Mrs. Wheelock stepped on the plank which connected the vessel with the wharf, she said to a female friend, "I would not exchange situations with any of you." When the vessel began to move, the father of Mr. Wheelock, with all the tender anguish of a parent, took off his hat and exclaimed: "Well Edward my dear son, let me see your face once more." Edward came to the side of the vessel. The father gazed on his amiable son, then covered his head, and immediately forced his way through the crowd to his carriage.<sup>h</sup>

In September 1818, the missionaries reached the scene of their labours; but Mr. Wheelock who had of late been attacked with successive colds, had been only a week in Rangoon when he was seized with a spitting of blood. The disease gradually made progress, and insensibly exhausted his strength. He still wished to live, that he might preach among the Burmans, "the unsearchable riches of Christ;" but yet he manifested in this respect, the utmost resignation to the will of Heaven: during the whole of his sickness, he was never heard to utter a murmur or complaint of any kind. His mind was completely occupied with divine things; he seemed absorbed in the enjoyment of communion with God. Thinking, however, that it was his duty to use every means for the restoration of his health, he embarked for Bengal, in the hope that a change of

<sup>h</sup> Judson's Account, p. 132.—New York Miss. Herald, vol. iv. p. 342.



air, and medical advice might prove beneficial to him. For about a week after his departure he was in the same tranquil and happy frame of mind, which he had enjoyed for some months past; but about five days before the fatal catastrophe his spirits became much depressed; his fever greatly increased; his head was affected with a severe pain; and his temples were much swelled. In other respects, Mrs. Wheelock saw no particular alteration in him, till one morning as she was reading to him, he suddenly rose from the chair on which he sat and went into the quarter gallery. Being surprised at his starting so suddenly, she instantly followed him, and was just in time to save him from jumping out at one of the windows of the ship. When she had helped him to bed, and was a little recovered from the awful shock she had received, she endeavoured to converse with him; but he was perfectly insensible. He answered her questions with great solemnity, but with a strange wildness. Next day he seemed tranquil and happy for a short time, and said that "Christ was precious to him, and that his comforts delighted his soul." But soon the fever began to rage as before, and he was in a state of violent delirium. Early next morning, he expressed a great anxiety to know where he was; and after Mrs. Wheelock had told him, she asked him if he knew her, to which he replied: "No, Sir, it is impossible to know who, or what you are, or what you will be." In the forenoon his reason appeared to return, and in the afternoon he seemed to fall into a gentle sleep. Mrs. Wheelock left him for a few moments to write a short note to inform their friends in Calcutta of their arrival; but it was not two minutes after when she



heard the quarter gallery door close. She instantly rose to shut it, fearing the noise it made would awake him, but when she turned round she saw he was gone: she hastened to the place; but alas it was too late. Search was made through the ship; but he was no where to be found. Either he had fallen over board, or what is not improbable, he had, in a fit of frenzy, thrown himself into the sea. Such was the melancholy end of this interesting young man. It is scarcely necessary to remark, that Mr. Wheelock cannot for one moment be considered as chargeable with suicide, nor can his precipitating himself into the river, if this was actually the case, be viewed as affecting in the slightest degree the evidence of his piety. In cases of delirium, wherein reason is completely overpowered by the force of disease, we cannot suppose a person more accountable for what he does, than for what he says, and many can recollect persons distinguished for their piety, who in the delirium of a fever, have uttered things of which in their sober senses they would have felt the utmost abhorrence. <sup>i</sup>

Previous to the death of Mr. Wheelock, Mr. Judson had commenced the public preaching of the gospel. With this view, a zayat, the Burman name for a place of worship, was erected in the neighbourhood of the mission house; but on one of the principal roads leading from the city to the great pagoda. His hearers were at first few in number; and much disorder and inattention prevailed among them, most of them not having been accustomed to attend Burman worship. Mrs. Judson also held meetings with

<sup>i</sup> The Friend of India, 1819, p. 387, 493.—Boston Miss. Her. vol. xv. p. 63.



the females, and she had often much pleasure in reading the Scriptures to them, and in explaining to them the things which belonged to their everlasting peace. There was certainly a considerable number of the Burmans whose sentiments were changed, and who might be considered as in the state of many nominal Christians, somewhat enlightened and partially convinced. The small number of inquirers was frequently diminished by the removal of some of them to other parts of the country, or by a sudden alarm from government; and again enlarged by new acquaintances. Several, however, appeared to be seriously impressed with divine truth, and after a short time, Mr. Judson had the inexpressible pleasure of baptizing three of them.<sup>k</sup>

In December 1819, Messrs. Judson and Colman proceeded to Ummerapoorra, the capital, with the view of presenting a petition to the new emperor, for a toleration of the Christian religion in Burmah. Sometime before the baptism of the two last Burmans, the death of the emperor changed the aspect of religious affairs in that country: his late majesty was hostile to the priests of Buddhu, the present emperor was supposed to be favourable to them. Schway-gnong one of the inquirers, a man of learning and influence, was accused to the viceroy of heretical sentiments, and in consequence of this he went to the head of ecclesiastical affairs in Rangoon, made his peace with him, and from that time visited the missionaries only occasionally and that privately. This circumstance spread an alarm among all their acquaintances, and with the exception of the baptized, occasioned a complete falling off among their

<sup>k</sup> Judson's Account, p. 97, 144, 146, 148, 156, 176, 179, 201.



visitors. Messrs. Judson and Colman, now thought that they had no resource, but “to go up to the golden feet, and lift up their eyes to the golden face,” in other words, to go directly into the imperial presence, lay their designs before the emperor, and solicit toleration for themselves and their converts.<sup>1</sup>

After a dangerous voyage of more than a month up the river Irrawaddy, they reached the capital in safety; and through the friendly interposition of the late viceroy of Rangoon, they early obtained permission to visit the emperor. Having proceeded to the palace, they were detained a long time at the outer gate, until the various officers were satisfied that they had a right to enter; after which they deposited a present for the private minister of state, Moungh Zah, and were ushered into his apartments in the palace-yard. He received them very pleasantly, and now for the first time, they disclosed their character and object, that they were missionaries or “propagators of religion;” that they wished to appear before the emperor, and present to him their sacred books, accompanied with a petition for toleration to themselves and their converts. He took the petition into his hand, looked over part of it, and then asked them several questions about their God and their religion. Just at this crisis, some person announced, that the “golden foot” was about to advance; on which the minister hastily rose up, and put on his robes of state, saying, that he must seize that opportunity of presenting them before the emperor. When he was dressed, he said, “How can you propa-

<sup>1</sup> Judson's Account, p. 200, 206, 209, 217, 219.—Miss. Reg. vol. ix. p. 108.



gate religion in this empire? But, come along.” He then conducted them through various splendour and parade, until they ascended a flight of stairs, and entered a most magnificent hall. He directed them where to sit, and took his place on one side: while on the other, was placed the present which they proposed to offer to the emperor, consisting of that book which they wished to translate, under his patronage,—the BIBLE in six volumes, covered with gold leaf, in the Burman style, and each volume enclosed in a rich wrapper. The spacious extent of the hall, the number and magnitude of the pillars, the height of the dome, the whole of which was completely covered with gold, presented a most grand and imposing spectacle. Very few were present, and those evidently principal officers of state.

Here they remained about five minutes, when every one put himself into the most respectful attitude, and MOUNG YO, one of the officers, whispered that the emperor had entered. They looked through the hall, as far as the pillars would allow, and presently caught a view of his majesty. He came forward, unattended, in solitary grandeur, exhibiting the proud gait of an eastern monarch. His dress was rich, but not distinctive; and he carried in his hand a gold sheathed sword, which seems to have taken the place of the sceptre of ancient times. But it was his high aspect and commanding eye that chiefly rivetted their attention. Every head, excepting the missionaries, was now in the dust. They remained kneeling, with their hands folded, and their eyes fixed on the monarch. When he drew near, he stopped, and turning towards them said: “Who are these?” “The teachers, great king,” replied Mr. Judson. “What!



you speak Burman—the priests that I heard of last night?—When did you arrive?—Are you teachers of religion?—Are you like the Portuguese priests?—Are you married?—Why do you dress so?” When they had answered these, and other similar questions, he appeared to be pleased, and sat down on an elevated seat, his hand resting on the hilt of his sword, and his eyes intently fixed on them. Moungh Zah now began to read the petition, which was as follows :

“ The American teachers present themselves to receive the favour of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea. Hearing, that, on account of the greatness of the royal power, the royal country was in a quiet and prosperous state, we arrived at the town of Rangoon, within the royal dominions; and, having obtained leave of the governor of that town to come up and behold the golden face, we have ascended and reached the bottom of the golden feet. In the great country of America, we sustain the character of teachers and explainers of the contents of the sacred Scriptures of our religion. And, since it is contained in those Scriptures, that if we pass to other countries, and preach and propagate religion, great good will result, and both those who teach and those who receive the religion will be freed from future punishment, and enjoy without decay or death the eternal felicity of heaven—entreating that royal permission be given, that we, taking refuge in the royal power, may preach our religion in these dominions, and that those who are pleased with our preaching, and wish to listen to or be guided by it, whether foreigners or Burmans, may be exempt from molestation by government, they



present themselves to receive the favour of the excellent king, the sovereign of land and sea."

The emperor having heard this petition, stretched out his hand, when MOUNG ZAH crawled forward, and presented it. His majesty began at the top, and deliberately read the whole. In the mean time, Mr. Judson gave MOUNG ZAH a copy of a tract, which was put into the handsomest style and dress possible. After the emperor had perused the petition, he handed it back, without saying a word, and took the tract. The hearts of the missionaries now rose to God for a display of his grace. "Oh! have mercy on Burmah! have mercy on her king!" He held the tract long enough to read the first two sentences, which assert that there is One Eternal God, who is independent of the incidents of mortality, and that, beside Him, there is no God; and then, with an air of indifference, he threw it on the ground. MOUNG ZAH stooped forward, picked it up, and handed it to the missionaries. He now made a slight attempt to save them, by unfolding one of the volumes, which constituted their present, and displaying its beauty; but his majesty took no notice of it. After a few moments, MOUNG ZAH interpreted his royal master's will in the following terms: "Why do you ask for such permission? Have not the Portuguese, the English, the Mahommedans, and people of all other religions, full liberty to practise and worship, according to their own customs? In regard to the objects of your petition, his majesty gives no order. With respect to your sacred books, his majesty has no use for them: take them away." Something was now said about Mr. Colman's skill in medicine, on which the emperor said, "Let



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sun and dust of the streets of Ummerapoor, to the  
residence of the Portuguese priest, who very speedily  
ascertained that they were in possession of no won-  
derful secret which would secure the emperor from  
all disease, and ensure him immortality. They were  
accordingly allowed to take leave of the reverend  
inquisitor, and return to their boat. It afterwards  
appeared that he gave a very false representation of  
them, particularly that they were a sect of Zandeas,  
a race very obnoxious to formér emperors.<sup>m</sup>

Before leaving Ummerapoor, they made some  
further attempts to obtain the grand object of their  
wishes; but every information they received, con-  
firmed them in the opinion that no toleration would  
be granted them; and indeed we cannot see how  
they could expect that a Heathen government like  
the Burman, would grant them formal permission  
to convert its subjects to a new religion; their  
labours might be winked at, but a legal toleration  
of them they had no reason to expect.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Judson's Account, p. 220, 225, 240.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. p. 236.



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He felt the force of the reflection, and tried to ex-  
plain his past conduct. "Say nothing," said Mr.  
Judson, "one thing you know to be true, that when  
formerly accused, if you had not in some way or other  
satisfied the Mangen teacher, your life would not  
now be remaining in your body." "Then," said  
he, "If I must die, I shall die in a good cause, I  
know it is the cause of truth." He then repeated  
with considerable emphasis, the most prominent  
points of his present faith. "I believe," said he, "in  
the eternal God, in his Son Jesus Christ, in the atone-  
ment which Christ has made, and in the writings of  
the apostles, as the true and only word of God."  
"Perhaps," continued he, "you may not remember,  
that during one of my last visits, you told me that  
I was trusting in my own understanding rather than



them proceed to the residence of my physician, the Portuguese priest: let him examine whether they can be useful to me in that line, and report accordingly." He then rose from his seat, strided on to the end of the hall, and threw himself down on a cushion, where he lay listening to the music, and gazing at the parade spread out before him!

As for the missionaries and their present, they were huddled up and hurried away, without much ceremony. They passed through the palace gates, with much more facility than they had entered, and were afterwards conducted two miles, through the sun and dust of the streets of Ummerapoor, to the residence of the Portuguese priest, who very speedily ascertained that they were in possession of no wonderful secret which would secure the emperor from all disease, and ensure him immortality. They were accordingly allowed to take leave of the reverend inquisitor, and return to their boat. It afterwards appeared that he gave a very false representation of them, particularly that they were a sect of Zandeas, a race very obnoxious to former emperors.<sup>m</sup>

Before leaving Ummerapoor, they made some further attempts to obtain the grand object of their wishes; but every information they received, confirmed them in the opinion that no toleration would be granted them; and indeed we cannot see how they could expect that a Heathen government like the Burman, would grant them formal permission to convert its subjects to a new religion; their labours might be winked at, but a legal toleration of them they had no reason to expect.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Judson's Account, p. 220, 225, 240.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. p. 236.



Having thus no hope of obtaining a legal toleration, they embarked, with a heavy heart, for Rangoon. In descending the river, they, to their great surprise, met with the teacher, MOUNG SCHWAYGNONG, at Pyee, or Prome. He had come up from Rangoon, a few days before, to meet an old acquaintance who was dangerously ill, and expected to return shortly. They stated to him their reception at court, the distressing result of the expedition, and the present danger of propagating or professing the religion of Christ. He appeared to be less affected and intimidated by the relation than they expected; and, indeed, his language was rather too high for the occasion. Mr. Judson therefore told him, that it was not for him they were concerned, but for those who had become disciples of Christ. When they were accused or persecuted, they could not worship at the Pagodas, or recant before the MANGEN teacher. He felt the force of the reflection, and tried to explain his past conduct. "Say nothing," said Mr. Judson, "one thing you know to be true, that when formerly accused, if you had not in some way or other satisfied the MANGEN teacher, your life would not now be remaining in your body." "Then," said he, "If I must die, I shall die in a good cause, I know it is the cause of truth." He then repeated with considerable emphasis, the most prominent points of his present faith. "I believe," said he, "in the eternal God, in his Son Jesus Christ, in the atonement which Christ has made, and in the writings of the apostles, as the true and only word of God." "Perhaps," continued he, "you may not remember, that during one of my last visits, you told me that I was trusting in my own understanding rather than



in the divine word. From that time I have seen my error, and have endeavoured to renounce it. You explained to me also the evil of worshipping at the pagodas, though I told you that my heart did not partake in the worship. Since you left Rangoon, I have not lifted up my folded hands before a pagoda. It is true, I sometimes followed the crowd on days of worship, in order to avoid persecution ; but I walk up one side of the pagoda, and down the other. Now you say that I am not a disciple : What lack I yet?" Mr. Judson was satisfied he had made a little advance since their last interview, which required a corresponding advance on his side. He therefore replied, "Teacher, you may be disciple of Christ in heart, but you are not a full disciple. You have not faith and resolution enough to keep all the commands of Christ, particularly that which requires you to be baptized, though in the face of persecution and death. Consider the words of Christ just before he returned to heaven, 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved.' " He received this communication in profound silence, with that particular air which he usually manifested when he took a thing into serious consideration. Mr. Judson soon after hinted their intention of leaving Rangoon, since the emperor had virtually prohibited the propagation of Christianity, and no Burman under such circumstances would dare to investigate, much less to embrace it. This intelligence instantly roused him, and shewed that Christianity had taken a deeper hold of his heart than they imagined. "Say not so," said he, "there are some who, notwithstanding, will investigate ; and rather than have you quit Rangoon, I will go myself to the Mangen teacher, and have a



public dispute with him. I know I can silence him; I know the truth is on my side." "Ah!" said Mr. Judson, "you may have a tongue to silence him; but he has a pair of fetters, and an iron mace, to subdue you. Remember that." This conversation awakened in the breasts of the missionaries a variety of interesting reflections; and amidst the darkness in which they were enveloped, afforded them something like a ray of hope.

On arriving at Rangoon, Messrs. Judson and Colman communicated to the three converts a full account of their reception at the capital; apprehending that when they saw their teachers driven away in disgrace from the presence of their monarch, they would have little zeal for a cause thus proscribed and persecuted, but in this they were happily disappointed. All of them appeared firmer than ever, and vied with each other in trying to explain away difficulties, and to convince them that the cause was not yet desperate. "But whither are the teachers going?" they anxiously inquired. In reply, the missionaries told them that it was their intention never to desert Burmah; but that since the emperor had refused to tolerate their religion, they thought it necessary to leave for a season that part of the country which was under his dominion; that there is a tract of country lying between Bengal and Arracan, which though under the government of Bengal, is inhabited chiefly by Arracanese, who speak a language similar to the Burman; that formerly a teacher from Bengal, Mr. De Bruyn,\* lived at Chittagong, the principal town in that district, and baptized several converts,

\* See p. 216.



who at his death were left destitute of the means of instruction ; and that it was their intention to proceed thither in the hope of finding that toleration which was denied them at Rangoon. They then asked each of them, what they would do. MOUNG NAU, the first who was baptized, had previously said that he would follow them to any part of the world ; he was only afraid that he would be a burden to them, for not being acquainted with any other language, he might not be able to get his living in a strange land. “ As for me,” said MOUNG THAHLAH, “ I go where preaching is to be had.” The third, MOUNG BYAAY, was silent and thoughtful ; but at last he said, that as no Burman woman is allowed to leave the country, he could not, on account of his wife, follow them ; but, continued he, with some pathos, “ If I must be left here alone, I shall remain performing the duties of Jesus Christ’s religion ; I shall think of no other.” This interview with the converts rejoiced the heart of the missionaries, and filled them with praise to God for the grace manifested in them.

Four days after, MOUNG BYAAY came to the missionaries, accompanied by his brother-in-law, who had lived in their yard several months, and formerly attended worship in the zayat. “ I have come,” said he, “ to petition you not to leave Rangoon at present.” “ I think,” replied Mr. Judson, “ that it is useless to remain under present circumstances. We cannot open the zayat ; we cannot have public worship ; no Burman will dare to examine our religion ; and if none examine, none can be expected to embrace it.” “ Teacher,” said he, “ my mind is distressed. I can neither eat nor sleep, since I have learned you are going away. I have been round



among those who live near us, and I find some who even now are examining the new religion. Do stay with us a few months. Do stay till there are eight or ten disciples. Then appoint one to be the teacher of the rest: I shall not be concerned about the event, though you should then leave the country; the religion will spread of itself. The emperor himself cannot stop it. But if you go now, and take the two disciples that can follow you, I shall be left alone. I cannot baptize those who may wish to embrace the religion. What can I do?" Moung Nau came in, and expressed himself in a similar way. He thought that several would yet become disciples, notwithstanding all opposition, and that it was best for the teachers to stay for a season. The missionaries could not refrain from tears at hearing all this, and told them that as they lived only for the promotion of the cause of Christ in Burmah, they had no desire, if there was any prospect of success in Rangoon, to go to any other place.<sup>o</sup>

Impressed with the interesting situation of the converts, the missionaries felt that they could not all leave the Burman empire; but they at the same time thought it very important that Chittagong should not be neglected. Under these circumstances they came to the resolution, that Mr. Judson should remain at Rangoon; and that Mr. Colman should proceed immediately to Chittagong, collect the Arracanese converts, and form a station, to which the former might ultimately flee, with those of the Burman converts who could leave the country, should they find persecution so violent as to suppress all further inquiry, and render it useless to remain.

<sup>o</sup> Judson's Account, p. 241.



Agreeably to this resolution, Mr. Colman proceeded to Chittagong. There he might have lived comfortably in civilized Christian society, under the protection of the British government, and been usefully employed in missionary labours. But animated with love to the Redeemer, and with compassion for immortal souls, this excellent young man fixed his residence in a native village, where he was surrounded by poverty, ignorance and delusion, and where he died, after he had been only about two years in the country.<sup>p</sup>

In the meanwhile Mr. Judson was cheered and animated in his labours by the appearance of new inquirers among the Burmans, as well as by the steadfastness of several of those who used formerly to visit them. Moungh Schway-gnong now admitted that all his objections to positive commands were removed, and that it was his desire to be a full disciple; but when urged closely on the subject, he intimated that his wife and friends were opposed to his taking any decided steps, and that if he did, he was exposed to imminent danger of persecution and death. "He mentioned these things," says Mr. Judson, "with so much feeling, and with such evident consciousness of his own weakness, as completely disarmed me. My heart was wrung with pity; I sincerely sympathized with him in his mental trials. I could not deny the truth of what he said; but gently hinted the promise of God, 'As thy day is, so shall thy strength be;' and suggested the example of the apostles and martyrs, the glory of suffering for Christ, and similar considerations. But the thought of the iron mace, and a secret suspicion

<sup>p</sup> Judson's Account, p. 249, 258.



that if I was in his circumstances, I should perhaps have no more courage, restrained my tongue." Schway-gnong was a teacher of considerable distinction among the Burmans, and a man of very superior talents, but at the same time of sceptical principles, maintaining the doctrines of semi-atheism, and had contributed to the dissemination of them at Rangoon. His pride of understanding, however, was at length subdued, through the powerful influence of the gospel, and Mr. Judson had the pleasure of administering to him the ordinance of baptism. Soon after his baptism, all the priests and officers of the village where he resided, entered into a conspiracy to destroy him; but happily they failed in the attempt. Afterwards, however, the chief of his village, in connexion with several priests, drew up and presented a memorial to the viceroy, in which they accused him of having embraced sentiments which aimed at the destruction of the religion of Buddhu, and which was prejudicial to the existing authorities. In reply, the viceroy said, that if their assertions were true, Moun Schway-gnong deserved to be put to death. The teacher closely watched the proceedings of his accusers, and as soon as he learned that the viceroy had given them some encouragement, he procured a boat, embarked his family, and proceeded up the river to Shway-doung, a town about a hundred miles from Rangoon. Having previously furnished himself with tracts, and portions of Scripture, he there employed himself in disseminating his new religion, and excited much commotion among the inhabitants of that place. Moun Schway-gnong's easy and rapid escape may appear almost incredible to one accus-



tomed to the well regulated police of civilized countries ; but it will not appear strange, when it is considered that the officers of government in Burmah take cognizance of those cases only which are under their immediate control ; that there is nothing throughout the empire like a public newspaper, in which a fugitive may be described ; and that the only mode of conveyance is in boats, of which there are thousands at all times on the river. <sup>a</sup>

Moung Schway-gnong's accusation and flight, however, produced, as formerly, much alarm among the converts and inquirers, the former attending divine worship as privately as possible, while the latter almost entirely withdrew. Mr. Judson was obliged to shut up the zayat altogether, and confine his religious instructions to those who occasionally called at the mission-house. The alarm, however, gradually subsided ; several more of the Burmans were baptized, until at length their little church consisted of no fewer than eighteen members. It may, however, be remarked, that baptism was in most instances administered at night, for the sake of concealment ; and, except in their own private circle, it was scarcely known that a single individual had renounced Budhism, and been initiated into the Christian faith. <sup>r</sup>

In August 1822, Mr. Judson, and Dr. Price who had lately come to his assistance, proceeded to court, having been summoned thither in consequence of the medical skill of the latter. As soon as the emperor was informed of their arrival, a royal order

<sup>a</sup> Judson's Account, p. 190, 196, 248, 264, 270, 279, 291, 313.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid. p. 309, 314, 318, 325.



was issued for their immediate introduction. They were obliged to submit to no ceremony; but as they entered, his majesty, with the impatience of a despotic prince, asked, which was the doctor. They were taken into an open court, and seated on a bamboo floor, about ten feet from the chair of the monarch. He then interrogated Dr. Price as to his skill in curing eyes, cutting out wens, setting broken bones, besides many other things to which his skill did not extend. His medicines were then called for, and all his stock inspected. The surgical cases were much admired. After looking at them, the emperor sent for his own, one case of which being unlike Dr. Price's, he immediately gave it into his hands, which might be considered as equivalent to saying, that he must in future make the capital the place of his residence. After the emperor and his courtiers had amused themselves with his galvanic pile for an hour, the missionaries were dismissed with an order to look out a place which they liked, and he would build a house for them. His majesty apparently had the good of his people, as well as the glory of his empire at heart; and encouraged foreign merchants, and especially artisans, to settle in his capital. We shall rejoice if the residence of Dr. Price at court shall promote the interests of the mission, and his own usefulness as a missionary; but we acknowledge we dread more danger to the Christian missionary, from the smiles, than from the frowns of the princes of this world. <sup>s</sup> \*

<sup>s</sup> Judson's Account, p. 321.—Evan. Mag. vol. i. (N. S.) p. 352.

\* Perhaps an apology may seem due to Mrs. Judson for the use which we have made of her Account of the Burman Mission, a work so very lately published. If his recommendation could



## CHAPTER FOURTEENTH.

PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY BY THE UNITED  
FOREIGN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.~~~~~  
OSAGE COUNTRY.

IN July 1817, was instituted at New York, the United Foreign Missionary Society, consisting chiefly of members of the different bodies of Presbyterians in America.<sup>a</sup>

In April 1820, the Rev. William F. Vaill, and the Rev. E. Chapman, Dr. Palmer, physician, four farmers, one carpenter, one blacksmith, several females, and some children, in all twenty-one persons, set off from New York, on a mission to the Osage Indians in the Arkansaw territory, who were estimated at from eight to ten thousand souls. The Osages had been previously visited by a deputation from the Society, and had very cordially

<sup>a</sup> First Report of the United Foreign Missionary Society, p. 3. be of any avail, he would eagerly embrace this opportunity of calling the attention of his readers to the very interesting narrative of that excellent lady, were he not confident that its own intrinsic merits will soon command for it a circulation which his own is not likely to enjoy. It may, therefore, not be improper to state, that a large proportion of the documents of which it consists were in the author's possession independent of that work; so that it has been chiefly for the sake of simplicity of reference that he has made so much use of it.



agreed to the establishment of a mission among them, the object of which was to promote among them not only the knowledge of Christianity, but the arts of civilized life. Besides the ordinary branches of learning taught at school, it was intended that the boys should be instructed in agriculture and the mechanical arts, and the girls in spinning, weaving, sewing, knitting, and domestic economy.<sup>b</sup>

The journey, or rather the voyage, for they sailed the greater part of the way, on the Ohio, the Mississippi, and the Arkansaw, was upwards of 2000 miles. In the course of it, most of them were attacked by fever, and two of the females died; but after encountering these and many other difficulties, they reached the place fixed on for the missionary station, which, in allusion to the name of the Board, was called *Union*. A war, which soon after broke out between the Osages and the Cherokees, proved a serious obstacle to the progress of the infant settlement. Some of the sick and wounded were brought to the mission-house, and received medical aid. The Indians became by degrees more familiar with the missionaries, and their confidence in their White friends was by this means greatly increased.<sup>c</sup>

In March 1821, the Rev. N. B. Dodge, B. Pixley, and W. B. Montgomery, Dr. Belcher, physician, several persons as teachers, mechanics, and farmers, who with their wives and children amounted to forty-one individuals, set off from New York, with the view

<sup>b</sup> Third Report of the Unit. For. Miss. Soc. p. 13, 16, 18.—New York Christ. Herald, vol. vi. p. 757; vol. vii. p. 24, 407.

<sup>c</sup> New York Christ. Her. vol. vii. p. 434, 632.—Miss. Reg. vol. ix. p. 165; vol. xi. p. 77.—Evan. Mag. vol. i. (N. S.) p. 82.



of establishing a similar mission among the Osage Indians of the Missouri. The principal chiefs of that branch of the Osages had visited Washington the preceding summer, and had expressed an anxious wish that the same privileges might be conferred on them, as were about to be communicated to the Osages of the Arkansaw. After a voyage of about five months, they reached the place of their destination, about 150 miles from Union, and began to establish a settlement, which they called Harmony. Immediately on their arrival, a council of about seventy chiefs and warriors was held, and presented them with a tract of land consisting, it was supposed, of about 15,000 acres. But sickness soon arrested the labours of the settlers. Heavy and incessant rains coming on before a single building could be erected, the tents in which they lived were found insufficient to prevent them from being continually wet, and frequently drenched by the rain. Almost all of them were attacked with fever: no fewer than eight of the men, and twelve of the females, were ill at one time: six died, including four infants. The confidence of the tribe, however, appeared to be secured beyond expectation: many of them manifested a strong disposition to cultivate the soil, and to live as White men. It may also be mentioned, that in the neighbourhood of both stations there is mineral coal, which cannot fail to be of essential service to the settlers, especially as there is a deficiency of wood.<sup>d</sup> \* Though the stations of the

<sup>d</sup> Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 110; vol. xi. p. 77.—Boston Miss. Her. vol. xvii. p. 26.—Morse's Report, 218, 222, 230.

\* In the years 1820 and 1821, the Rev. Dr. Morse made an extensive tour among the Indians of North America, by



United Missionary Society among the Osages are still in their infancy, and have as yet been attended with no important results, yet we trust they are destined, in combination with the very important establishments of the American Board for Foreign Missions, and with those other measures which, we doubt not, will ere long be adopted by the government and people of the United States, who seem at length

authority of the President of the United States, for the purpose of acquiring a more accurate knowledge of their condition, in a religious, moral, and political point of view, in order to the formation of the most suitable plans for promoting their civilization and improvement. After his return, he presented a Report to the American government, embodying much valuable information on the subject of his inquiries; and as one of the fruits of his labours, a Society was soon after instituted for promoting the civilization and general improvement of the Indian tribes within the territory of the United States; among the officers of which were most of the principal persons connected with the executive government of that country. The American government appears now to be in earnest in promoting the civilization of the Indians, and disposed to aid every rational attempt to promote their improvement; and on the other hand, many of the Indians who reside in the neighbourhood of the White people, are now much more disposed than formerly, to receive among them persons to instruct them in the principles of religion, and in the arts of civilization. Within these few years a great revolution has taken place in their sentiments in this respect. They begin to see that there is no alternative for them but civilization or extirpation.

Dr. Morse closes his work with a statistical table of the Indian tribes within the limits of the United States, drawn up from the best authorities he could obtain; but though in some instances, the numbers were the result of an actual census, in a large proportion of cases they can be considered as merely an approximation to the truth. The following abstract shews the result of the whole:



to have awakened to the importance and the practicability of conferring on the Indian tribes the blessings of civilization and of Christianity, to effect a revolution in the condition of this neglected and degraded branch of the great family of man. This, in short, promises to be a new era in the history of the Indians of North America.

|                                                              |        |
|--------------------------------------------------------------|--------|
| Indians in Maine, .....                                      | 956    |
| Massachusetts, .....                                         | 750    |
| Rhode Island,.....                                           | 420    |
| Connecticut,.....                                            | 400    |
| New York, .....                                              | 5,184  |
| Ohio, .....                                                  | 2,407  |
| Michigan and North-west Territory, .....                     | 28,380 |
| Indiana and Illinois,.....                                   | 17,006 |
| Virginia and South Carolina, .....                           | 497    |
| Florida,.....                                                | 5,000  |
| Georgia, and other states to the east<br>of the Mississippi, |        |
| Creeks, .....                                                | 20,000 |
| Cherokees, .....                                             | 11,000 |
| Choctaws, .....                                              | 25,000 |
| Chickasaws, .....                                            | 3,625  |

The total amount of these numbers is 120,625. Dr. Morse proceeds to enumerate the various tribes of Indians from the Mississippi to the Pacific Ocean; but as the data on which he proceeds must in most instances be very doubtful, we shall merely state in general that he estimates them at 350,792; making the whole number of Indians, 471,417. How inadequate the exertions are, which are as yet making for the improvement of these numerous tribes, is evident from the simple fact, that, according to a table given by Dr. Morse, the number of schools established among them amounts only to about 30, and the number of scholars to about 1,100; but we trust, that at no distant period, the future historian of missions will have a very different state of things to record.—*Morse's Report to the Secretary of War of the United States on Indian Affairs*, p. 11. Append. p. 284, 361, 375.



# APPENDIX.

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## No. I.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF MISSIONS OF INFERIOR NOTE,

OR

WHICH HAVE BEEN LATELY ESTABLISHED.

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### SECTION I.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL  
IN FOREIGN PARTS.

NEW YORK.

IN 1701, was incorporated by royal charter, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts, consisting entirely of members of the Church of England. Though it directed its attention chiefly to the supply of the British colonies in North America, and the West Indies, with Episcopal ministers, and catechists, and schoolmasters; it did not entirely overlook the Heathen world. As there were great numbers of negroes in the American colonies, the society early gave directions to its missionaries, to use their best endeavours for instructing the slaves in their neighbourhood in the principles of Christianity. In the prosecution of this work, however, they met with many difficulties. Numbers of the masters were perfectly indifferent about the instruction of their slaves, and would allow them no time for that purpose: Others openly opposed it, alleging that the negroes had no souls, and that they grew worse by becoming Christians.

In 1704, a school was opened in New York for the instruction of negroes, by Mr. E. Neau, a French refugee, who had been several years in the galleys, on account of his profession of the Protestant faith. He was at first



obliged to go from house to house to instruct the negroes, which proved an exceedingly laborious task; afterwards he obtained permission for them to come to his house, which was a considerable relief. This place, however, was too small to contain the numbers who might have attended; and as they were allowed only a little time in the dusk of the evening, after being completely fatigued by the labours of the day, they could scarcely be expected to make very rapid progress. Notwithstanding these difficulties, Mr. Neau prosecuted his labours among them with great diligence and zeal. A considerable number of the negroes acquired some knowledge of the principles of Christianity, and many of them were baptized.

In 1712, a number of negroes about New York, conspired together to murder the English inhabitants, with the view of recovering their liberty. The scheme was happily discovered and defeated; but yet many of the White people took occasion from it, to oppose the instruction of the slaves. Mr. Neau durst hardly appear, for some days, in the streets; and strange to tell, his school was represented as the principal cause of the conspiracy. On the trial of the ringleaders, however, there were only two of all his scholars who were accused of it. One of these had been baptized, and though he was condemned as guilty, it was afterwards generally acknowledged that he was perfectly innocent. The other was not baptized, and though he was convicted of the conspiracy, it appeared he had no hand in the murder of his master. Upon the whole, the negroes who were guilty, were such as had never attended the school; and what is worthy of notice, the persons whose slaves were most criminal, were such as were the avowed enemies of instructing them in the principles of religion.

Notwithstanding these circumstances, a violent clamour was excited against the labours of Mr. Neau. The common council of New York, passed an order prohibiting the negroes from appearing in the streets after sunset, without lanterns and candles. This was in effect forbidding them to attend the school, as none of them could come before sunset, or procure lanterns after it. By degrees, however, the apprehensions of the people began to subside. The governor endeavoured to dispel their jealousy with respect to the instruction of the negroes; and as, after visiting the school, he expressed his approbation of it, the work began to be carried on with new



vigour. We have noticed these circumstances more particularly, because they form a striking counterpart to the conduct of the enemies of missions in the West Indies in the present day. They pretend, indeed, that they are the friends of the instruction of the negroes; that it is merely to the dangerous and fanatical doctrines of the Methodists that they are inimical; and that they would gladly receive the authorized teachers of the Church of England; yet we see that when the Church of England sent forth missionaries, they met with the very same kind of treatment.

#### MOHAWK COUNTRY.

In 1704, the Society, in consequence of a recommendation from her Majesty Queen Anne, sent the Rev. T. Moor, to labour among the Mohawk Indians, in the neighbourhood of New York. On his arrival, he offered to settle among them and instruct them; but though they treated him in a very courteous manner, they declined returning a positive answer to his proposals, until they should consult with the other tribes. After waiting near a twelvemonth at Albany, he returned to New York, discouraged by their repeated delays. He afterwards embarked for England; but the ship, it was supposed, foundered at sea, as neither he nor any of the crew were ever heard of.

In 1712, the Rev. Mr. Andrews, whom the Society had appointed to labour among the Mohawk Indians, arrived at Albany. Four sachems of the Iroquois or Five nations, who came sometime before on an embassy to England, had requested that missionaries might be sent to instruct their people; and the queen, with the view of promoting this object, ordered a fort to be erected among them, a chapel for divine worship, and a house for the missionary. The fort was 150 feet square, and was garrisoned by a small party of soldiers under the command of an officer.

On arriving at the scene of his labours, about 200 miles from New York, Mr. Andrews began to instruct the Indians in the principles of religion through the medium of an interpreter. In his intercourse with them, he treated them in the most friendly and courteous manner. He often entertained them at his house, and even gave them provisions home with them when they happened to be in want, which was not unfrequently the case. A schoolmaster who accompanied him, opened at the same



time a school for the children. He also had to treat them with the greatest lenity: he durst not employ the smallest correction, as the parents set so little value on learning, that they would not have thought it worth purchasing at the expense of corporal pain to their offspring.

Besides procuring an impression of Hornbooks and Primers, in the Indian language, for the use of the children, the Society endeavoured to obtain a translation of some parts of the Scriptures into it. In this they were much assisted by the Rev. Mr. Freeman of Schenectady, who had been employed by the Earl of Bellamont about the beginning of the century, in instructing the Indians in his neighbourhood. He had already translated into the Mohawk language, the Gospel of Matthew, and many select passages from the Old and New Testament, and also the Morning and Evening prayers from the Liturgy of the Church of England. Several chapters of the Bible were printed at the expense of the Society, together with the Morning and Evening prayers, the Litany, the Church Catechism, and some family prayers.

After initiating the Indians in the principles of Christianity, Mr. Andrews baptized a considerable number of them; but most of the savages in a short time grew weary of instruction, and in the course of their hunting expeditions, which often lasted several months, they forgot much of what they had learned. Besides, some of the Jesuits from Canada endeavoured to infuse suspicions into their minds, as if the English, by erecting a fort in their neighbourhood, designed to murder them, under the pretence of instructing them in the principles of religion; and some of the Tuscarora Indians who had fled from North Carolina, so animated them with hatred of the English, that when any of them came to the Fort in their way to Albany, they used to mock Mr. Andrews, and when he offered to visit them at their own houses, they positively forbade him. The Mohawks in a short time came no more to chapel, and their children left off attending school. Mr. Andrews and his fellow labourers, the interpreter and schoolmaster, were even frequently in danger of their lives when they went out of the Fort. For these reasons, the mission was at length relinquished about the year 1718.\*

The mission among the Mohawk Indians was afterwards

\* Humphrey's Historical Account of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts, p. 13, 81, 253, 284.



renewed; but at what particular period, we do not exactly know. It appears, however, that in 1736, Mr. Barclay, a young man of great zeal, was labouring among them with very encouraging prospects of success. Every day, they became more eager for instruction; a very considerable reformation of manners was effected among them, and it was truly amazing to witness the progress of the youth in reading and writing their own language. All the young men from 20 to 30 years of age regularly attended the school when at home, and would leave a frolic rather than lose a lesson. Mr. Barclay's labours among the Indians, however, were carried on under great disadvantages. His own salary was extremely scanty, and he could obtain no allowance for an interpreter or a schoolmaster. He was willing to have continued his labours among them amidst these and other discouragements; but it would seem he was at length obliged to leave the Indians for want of pecuniary support.\*

Of the subsequent operations of this Society among the Indians in North America, we possess no particular account; but we apprehend they were very inconsiderable. Nearly the whole of its missionaries were employed among the White inhabitants. Two of those in Canada, however, are appointed to visit the Mohawk Indians, and one or two schoolmasters are settled among them. †

#### BARBADOES.

At the commencement of the eighteenth century, General Coddington bequeathed to the Society two plantations which he possessed in the island of Barbadoes, with directions that a convenient number of professors and scholars should be maintained there. Since that period, after many difficulties arising from lawsuits with the executors, the erection of a college at considerable expense, and the devastations occasioned by frequent hurricanes, an establishment has been formed and supported with the produce of the estates, consisting of a President and twelve scholars; stipends being allowed to those who are desirous of prosecuting their studies in England, either in divinity, law, or physic. A minister has also been provided for the negroes, whose whole attention is to be directed to their improvement in moral and religious knowledge. Schools upon the national sys-

\* Hopkins' Memoirs, p. 66.

† Miss. Reg. vol. iii. p. 344.



tem have been established under the superintendence of the chaplain, and a code of regulations has been prepared, by which sufficient time will be allowed the negroes during the week, for the cultivation of their own provision grounds, to enable them to attend to the religious observance of the sabbath without interruption. \*

In January 1820, the receipts from these estates for the preceding year, amounted to L. 4485; the payments to L. 3543.

#### AFRICA.

In 1751, a missionary was sent by this Society to Cape Coast; but after a few years, the undertaking was relinquished. In 1766, it was again renewed by the appointment of the Rev. Philip Quaque, a negro educated in England, at the expense of the Society, as a missionary, catechist, and schoolmaster, to his countrymen. He laboured among them for about fifty years, and on his death was succeeded by the chaplain to the African Company. †

In 1821, the Rev. William Wright, was sent to the Cape of Good Hope, to instruct the slaves in Capetown. He restored the national school to a state of efficiency. It contained about 200 scholars. ‡

#### EAST INDIES.

In 1818, this Society turned its attention to India, and placed L. 5000 at the disposal of Dr. Middleton, the Bishop of Calcutta, for the promotion of the cause of religion in that country. On receiving intimation of this, the Bishop proposed to employ this sum in establishing a college near Calcutta, for the education of native missionaries, catechists, and schoolmasters, and for the translation of the Scriptures, the Common Prayer Book, and moral and religious Tracts, into the languages of India. In support of this plan, the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Church Missionary Society, voted each, other L. 5000, and the latter Society, L. 1000 a year. The British and Foreign Bible Society, also made a grant to it of L. 5000, for the translation department. §

\* Miss. Reg. vol. viii. p. 399.

† Miss. Reg. vol. viii. p. 19.

‡ Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 26; vol. xi. p. 11.

§ Miss. Reg. vol. vi. p. 137, 221; vol. vii. p. 312, 317.—Rep. Bib. Soc. 1822, p. 68.



## SECTION II.

THE SOCIETY IN SCOTLAND FOR PROPAGATING  
CHRISTIAN KNOWLEDGE.

## NORTH AMERICA.

THE Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, was instituted at Edinburgh in the year 1709. The chief design of this institution was, the extension of religion in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; but it likewise extended its views to the conversion of the Heathen.

In 1730, the Society granted a commission to several gentlemen in New England, to be their correspondents in that quarter of the world, with power to choose persons qualified for the office of missionaries, and to fix the particular places where they should labour. In 1732, this board appointed three persons, as missionaries to the Indians on the borders of New England, namely, Mr. Joseph Secomb, at Fort George on George's River, where the Penobscot Indians traded; Mr. Ebenezer Hinsdale, at Fort Dummer on Connecticut River; and Mr. Stephen Parker, at Fort Richmond, both places of resort for the Indians. These missionaries were maintained by the Society till the year 1737, when they were dismissed on account of their want of success, and their declining to live among the Indians.

The trustees for the colony of Georgia having, in 1735, engaged a considerable number of people from the Highlands of Scotland to settle in that part of America, and being desirous that they should have a Presbyterian minister to preach to them in Gaelic, and to teach and catechise the children in English, applied to the Society to grant a commission to such a minister, who should likewise act as one of their missionaries for Christianizing the Indians, and to allow him a salary for some years, until the colonists should be able to maintain him at their own expense. The Society accordingly appointed Mr. John Macleod, a native of the Isle of Sky. This mission was supported till 1740, when the greater part of the inhabitants of Georgia having been cut off in an expedition



against the Spaniards at St. Augustine, Mr. Macleod left the colony. \*

In 1741, the Society established a board of correspondents at New York, with the same powers as that at Boston. This board appointed Mr. Azariah Horton to labour as a missionary on Long Island, and named as his assistant and interpreter, an Indian called Miranda, who had for some time laboured to instruct the Delaware and Susquehannah Indians. Miranda died soon after his appointment; but Mr. Horton remained for several years on Long Island. On his arrival, he met with a very favourable reception from the Indians. Those who lived at the east end of the island, in particular, listened with great attention to his instructions, and many of them were brought to inquire, What they should do to be saved? A general reformation of manners quickly ensued among them; many of them were impressed with deep convictions of their sinfulness and misery; and there were a number who gave satisfactory evidence of their saving conversion to Christ. In the course of two or three years, Mr. Horton baptized thirty-five adults and forty-four children. He also took pains to teach them to read, and some of them made considerable progress. But the extensiveness of his charge, and the necessity of his travelling from place to place, rendered it impossible for him to pay that regular attention to this important object, which was desirable.

Such was the promising aspect of this mission for some time; but it was not long before there appeared a melancholy declension among some of the Indians, in consequence of the introduction of spirituous liquors among them, and their being allured by this means into drunkenness, their darling vice. Some too, grew careless and remiss in attending on divine worship; but still there were a number who retained their first serious impressions, and continued to breathe the temper of genuine Christians. In 1750, the school at Montawk and Shemcock contained about sixty children, who made considerable progress in learning; and in general, the means of grace appeared to be blessed to the poor Indians. But as this mission was not so extensively useful as was expected, it was given up in the beginning of 1753. We are informed, however,

\* Account of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, 1774, p. 5, 15.



that in 1788, the Indians in those places where Mr. Horton had laboured were still religiously disposed, and that they had two preachers among them, both Indians and well esteemed.\*

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, having resolved to send a missionary and a schoolmaster to the Cherokee Upper towns, provided the Society in Scotland would send another missionary and schoolmaster to the same towns, the Society allowed L. 60 Sterling a year for this purpose, and placed it under the management of certain persons in Carolina and Virginia. In consequence of this, Mr. Martin engaged in this mission in December 1757; and appearances being promising, Mr. Richardson was sent thither the following year; but as the Cherokees joined in hostilities with the French against the English, the mission was soon after relinquished.

In 1762, the board of Correspondents at Boston sent three missionaries to Ohonoquagie, an Indian town on the river Susquehannah. They were received by the Indians with great cordiality; but as they were not so successful as was expected, they returned to Boston.

As ignorance of the Indian language had always been a powerful obstacle to the propagation of Christianity among the Indians, the board of correspondents at Boston adopted a plan for the education of English and Indian youths. Three Indians were put to school; but as many inconveniences, and particularly a great expense, was found to attend this scheme, it was given up. They then attempted to establish schools in the Indian settlements; but the Indians on the borders of New England having commenced hostilities, this measure was attended with little effect.

In 1772, the Society sent two missionaries and an interpreter to the Delaware Indians. On their arrival, many of the savages were attentive to them, and some were desirous of being instructed in the word of God. But these promising appearances quickly vanished; and the Indians ordered them to return to those who sent them.

\* Account of Soc. for Prop. Christ. Know. 1774, p. 15. Bonar's Sermon before ditto, p. 49. Brainerd's Life, p. 547. Gillies' Hist. Collect. vol. ii. p. 448. American Correspondence, among the records of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, MS. vol. i. p. 166.



The Society also paid L. 40 Sterling towards the support of four missionaries, who were sent in 1773, to the Indian tribes in Canada.\*

### SECTION III.

#### THE CORPORATION FOR THE PROPAGATION OF THE GOSPEL IN NEW ENGLAND.

##### RHODE ISLAND.

IN May 1733, the Rev. Joseph Park was sent by the Commissioners of Indian affairs, to preach to the Narraganset Indians, about Westerly and Charlestown, in Rhode Island, and to such of the English as would attend on his instructions. After some years, the revival of religion, which was so remarkable in various parts of America, extended to this quarter, and was by no means confined to the White people. About the beginning of this visitation, some of the Indians appeared to be seriously impressed with the truth, and several of them seemed to be set up as monuments of divine grace. But the power of religion began to be most remarkably displayed among them as a body, in February 1743, when a number of Christian Indians, from Stonington, a neighbouring town, came to visit their countrymen, at this place. From that time the greater part were impressed with a serious concern about their souls. They now relinquished their dances, and drunken frolics, and flocked more to the worship of God, than they used to do to their amusements. Formerly there were not above ten or twelve of the Indians who came to the church; now there were near a hundred who attended very regularly; many of whom afforded the most pleasing evidence of a change of heart. Within little more than a year, upwards of sixty of them were baptized, and admitted to full communion with the church. In speaking of them, Mr. Park says, "Considering the disadvantages they are under, by not being able to read, they may well be called experienced Christians, and are examples of faith, patience, love, humility, and every grace of the Holy Spirit. I have sometimes been ashamed, and even confounded before God at myself, when I have been among them, and have heard their conversation, beheld their zeal, and fervent

\* Account of Soc. for Prop. Christ. Know. p. 15.



charity toward each other. They are abundant in their endeavours to bring over such as oppose themselves, by setting before them the evil of their ways, and the comfort and sweetness of true religion. When they are assembled for divine worship, their hearts are often drawn out to plead with their brethren, so that with joy I have stood still to see the salvation of the Lord.

“ Their faith in God, encourages and quickens them in duty to obtain the promises of the good things of this life, as well as of that which is to come; so that there is a change among them in the outward no less than in the inward man. They grow more decent and cleanly in their dress, provide better for their households, and get clearer of debt.

“ The most of the Indians who are here, in a body are come into the kingdom of God; and the most of those that are without, are hopefully convinced that God is in the others of a truth, and of the necessity of their being partakers of his grace. Indeed, the Lord seems to be extending the power of his grace to such as are scattered abroad.” \*

This revival of religion among the Narraganset Indians, does not appear to have been temporary. We suppose at least, it is to them that the Rev. Charles Beatty refers, in the following account, which was written a few years before the commencement of the American war: “ I have now in my hands,” says he, “ a catalogue containing the names of Indians belonging to the Narraganset tribe in New England, in number about three hundred and fifteen. Mr. Samuel Drake, who has furnished the catalogue, and also written an account of them, and who has lived fourteen years among them as a schoolmaster, says, ‘ He believes, in the judgment of charity, that in the above number of Indians, there are seventy real Christians; that about sixty of them have entered into covenant with God, and one another, as a church of Christ, and are determined to follow the Lamb of God whithersoever he goes; that three evenings in the week, they constantly meet together, for singing and prayer; and that in their devotions, their affections seem to be surprisingly drawn out; that they are not fond of receiving any into church fellowship, but such as can give some good account of their being born again, that they steadily maintain reli-

\* Prince's Christian History, vol. i. p. 201; vol. ii. p. 22.



gious worship in their families; that, once in four weeks, they celebrate the Lord's Supper; and that, at certain sacramental seasons, he has thought the Lord Jesus seemed, as it were, to be evidently set forth crucified before them; that if any of their brethren return to their former sinful practices, the rest will mourn over them as though their hearts would break; that, if their backsliding brethren repent of their sin, and manifest a desire again to walk with the church, their rejoicing is equal to their former mourning; but, that if no fruit of repentance appears, after they have mourned over them for several meetings, they bid the offender farewell, as if they were going to part to meet no more, and with such a mourning as resembles a funeral. I have been at several such meetings, and there has been such a lamentation in the assembly, when they were obliged to part with a brother, as a Heathen man, or publican, that even the sinner, who previously appeared perfectly obstinate, was so affected, as to appear inwardly in pain for sin, and continued to cry to God for mercy, till he was delivered from his load of guilt, and admitted into fellowship with the church again.' He adds, 'That this religious concern began among these Indians twenty-six years since; that their pious minister is one of their own number, Mr. Samuel Niles; and that many of their children are now able to read the New Testament to their parents.'

"There are several other tribes of Indians in New England, not far distant from this tribe, that have received the Christian religion; a number of whom, as I am credibly informed, in the judgment of charity, give evidence of their being real Christians, and have occasional communion with those of the Narraganset church, particularly about thirty or forty of the Mohegan Indians; about twenty of the Pequot tribe; six or seven of the Neantick tribe. Both these tribes live in the colony of Connecticut. \* There are also some of the Stonington

\* It is probably to some of these Indians that the following statement relates. About the year 1745, the Indians in the neighbourhood of Plainfield in Connecticut, were much impressed with the truths of religion, and gave the strongest evidence of their sincere conversion. They were entirely reformed in their manner of living: they became temperate, abstained from drinking to excess, held religious meetings; and a number of them were formed into a church, and had the sacraments administered to them.—Trumbull's History of Connecticut, vol. i. p. 495.

The Indians in different quarters, appear to have participated in that remarkable awakening, which, about this period, took place in various



tribe, that have occasionally communion with the Narragansets, and about fifteen or sixteen [of the Montawk tribe of Indians, who live upon the east end of Long Island. These sometimes cross the Sound, in order to join the above church in its divine ordinances." \*

The state of religion among the Narraganset Indians, is not, however, at present so flourishing; but there are still the remains of a Christian church among them. In 1809, they were visited by the Rev. Mr. Coe, who gives the following account of them: "The whole number of Indians at Charlestown, considered as of the Narraganset tribe, is about one hundred and fifty. By intemperance and inattention to business, they are all reduced to poverty, some to an extreme degree. The quantity of their land is estimated at about three square miles; most of the valuable part of which is let out upon hire; a large portion is reserved for wood and timber; and a small part is in tillage. Very few pure-blooded Indians are now on the land, as they have for ages past been intermixing with Whites and Blacks. None are entitled to any part of the inheritance, except those who have descended from their females; hence a number of others, of mixed nations, live among them, who, by their customs, are not of the tribe.

"Their church, composed of persons of different nations, consists of between 40 and 50 members. They had a preacher of their own, John Segeter, who died about two years since. He could read, and was a man of some information. They still carry on worship on the Lord's day among themselves; and have the only place of public worship now in the town." †

In 1812, a schoolhouse was erected at Charlestown for the use of the Indians: the schoolmaster who was settled among them, laboured with great diligence, and with favourable prospects of success. A missionary was sent among them part of the year, and another school was established among them. ‡

parts of America, in consequence of ministers in their neighbourhood preaching to them.—Prince's Christ. Hist. vol. ii. p. 112. &c. This general statement will account for the occasional notices we meet with of Christian Indians, among whom no regular mission was ever established.

\* Beatty's Journal of a two Months' Tour, p. 54.

† Morse's Sermon before the Society at Boston for propagating the Gospel, p. 56.

‡ New York Christian Herald, vol. ii. p. 191. Morse's Report, Appendix. p. 75.



## SECTION IV.

## THE REV. SAMSON OCCOM.

THE Rev. Samson Occom, one of the Mohegan tribe of Indians in Connecticut, was converted to Christianity, when he was about seventeen years of age. He was the first who was educated at Dr. Wheelock's Indian school, and he was afterwards ordained to the ministry by a presbytery on Long Island, where he preached to a small number of Indians, who were once under the care of Mr. Horton. In 1761, he proceeded among the Oneida Indians, who had of late expressed an earnest desire that a minister would settle among them. On his arrival, he met with a favourable reception from them; and in the course of the summer, he baptized five or six persons. We are unable to trace the whole course of his labours; but it appears he afterwards removed from this tribe, and settled among some other Indians.\*

In 1788, Mr. Occom preached a sermon at New Haven, at the execution of Moses Paul, an Indian who had been guilty of murder. The text was, Rom. vi. 23. "The wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord." As this discourse was afterwards published, we shall quote his concluding address to the criminal as a specimen of Indian eloquence:

"My poor unhappy brother, Moses,

"As it was your own desire, that I should preach to you this last discourse, so I shall speak plainly to you. You are bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh. You are an Indian, a despised creature; but you have despised yourself; yea, you have despised God more; you have trodden under foot his authority; you have despised his commands and precepts. And now, as God says, 'Be sure your sins will find you out;' so now, poor Moses, your sins have found you out, and they have overtaken you this day. The day of your death is now come; the king of terrors is at hand; you have but a very few moments to breathe in this world. The just laws of man, and the holy law of Jehovah, call aloud for the destruction of your mortal life. God says, 'Whoso sheddeth man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.' This is the ancient decree of heaven, and it is to be executed by man;

\* Account of some late Attempts to Christianize the North American Indians, 1763, p. 3. Brief Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 1767, p. 24, 26, 28.



nor have you the least gleam of hope of escape, for the unalterable sentence is past; the terrible day of execution is come; the unwelcome guard is about you; and the fatal instruments of death are now made ready; your coffin and your grave, your last lodging, are open to receive you.

“ Alas ! poor Moses, now you know, by sad, by woeful experience, the living truth of our text, that ‘ the wages of sin is death.’ You have been already dead; yea, twice dead; by nature, spiritually dead; and since the awful sentence of death has been passed upon you, you have been dead to all the pleasures of this life; or all the pleasures, lawful or unlawful, have been dead to you. And death, which is the wages of sin, is standing even on this side of your grave, ready to put a final period to your mortal life; and just beyond the grave, eternal death awaits your poor soul, and the devils are ready to drag your miserable soul down to their bottomless den, where everlasting woe and horror reign; the place is filled with doleful shrieks, howls, and groans of the damned. Oh ! to what a miserable, forlorn, and wretched condition have your extravagant folly and wickedness brought you, that is, if you die in your sins. And, O ! what manner of repentance ought you to manifest ! How ought your heart to bleed for what you have done ! How ought you to prostrate your soul before a bleeding God, and under self-condemnation, cry out, ‘ Ah Lord, Ah Lord, what have I done !’ Whatever partiality, injustice, and error, there may be among the judges of the earth, remember that you have deserved a thousand deaths, and a thousand hells, by reason of your sins, at the hands of a holy God. Should God come out against you in strict justice, alas ! what could you say for yourself. For you have been brought up under the bright sunshine, and plain and loud sound of the gospel; and you have had a good education; you can read and write well; and God has given you a good natural understanding; and therefore your sins are so much more aggravated. You have not sinned in such an ignorant manner as others have done; but you have sinned with both your eyes open, as it were, under the light, even the glorious light of the gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ. You have sinned against the light of your own conscience, against your knowledge and understanding; you have sinned against the pure and holy laws of God, and the just laws of men; you have



sinned against heaven and earth; you have sinned against all the mercies and goodness of God; you have sinned against the whole Bible, against the Old and New Testament; you have sinned against the blood of Christ, which is the blood of the everlasting covenant. O poor Moses, see what you have done! and now repent, repent, I say again repent. See how the blood you shed cries against you, and the avenger of blood is at your heels. O fly, fly to the blood of the Lamb of God, for the pardon of all your aggravated sins.

“But let us now turn to a more pleasant theme. Though you have been a great sinner, a heaven-daring sinner, yet hark! O hear the joyful sound from heaven, even from the King of kings and Lord of lords; that ‘the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.’ It is a free gift, and bestowed on the greatest sinners; and upon their true repentance towards God, and faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, they shall be welcome to the life which we have spoken of. It is granted upon free terms: he that hath no money may come; he that hath no righteousness, no goodness, may come: the call is to poor undone sinners; the call is not to the righteous, but sinners, inviting them to repentance. Hear the voice of the Son of the Most High God, ‘Come unto me, all ye that labour and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest.’ This is a call, a gracious call to you, poor Moses, under your present burdens and distresses. And Christ has a right to call sinners to himself. It would be presumption for a mighty angel to call a poor sinner to himself; and were it possible for you to apply to all God’s creatures, they would with one voice tell you, that it was not in them to help you. Go to all the means of grace, they would prove miserable helps without Christ himself. Yea, apply to all the ministers of the gospel in the world, they would all say, that it was not in them, but would only prove as indexes, to point out to you the Lord Jesus, the only Saviour of sinners of mankind. Yea, go to all the angels in heaven, they would do the same. Yea, go to God the Father himself, without Christ, he would not help you. To speak after the manner of men, he would also point to the Lord Jesus Christ, and say, ‘This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased, hear ye him.’ Thus, you see, poor Moses, that there is none in heaven, or on the earth, that can help you, but Christ: he alone has power to save and to give you life. God the



Father appointed him, chose him, authorized and fully commissioned him to save sinners. He came down from heaven into this lower world, and became as one of us, and stood in our room. He was the second Adam. And as God demanded perfect obedience of the first Adam, the second fulfilled it; and as the first sinned and incurred the wrath and anger of God, the second endured it; he suffered in our room. As he became sin for us, he was a man of sorrows and acquainted with grief; all our stripes were laid upon him. Yea, he was finally condemned, because we were under condemnation; and at last was executed and put to death for our sins; was lifted up between the heaven and the earth, and was crucified on the accursed tree: His blessed hands and feet were fastened there;—there he died a shameful and ignominious death; there he finished the great work of our redemption; there his heart's blood was shed for our cleansing; there he fully satisfied the divine justice of God, for penitent believing sinners, though they have been the chief of sinners. O Moses, this is good news to you, in this last day of your life. Behold a crucified Saviour; his blessed hands are outstretched all in a gore of blood. This is the only Saviour, an Almighty Saviour, just such as you stand in infinite and perishing need of. O poor Moses, hear the dying prayer of a gracious Saviour on the accursed tree, 'Father forgive them, for they know not what they do.' This was a prayer for his enemies and murderers; and it is for all who repent and believe in him. O why will you die eternally, poor Moses, since Christ has died for sinners? Why will you go to hell beneath the bleeding Saviour, as it were? This is the day of your execution, yet it is the accepted time, it is the day of salvation, if you now believe in the Lord Jesus Christ. Must Christ follow you into the prison by his servants, and there entreat you to accept of eternal life; and will you refuse it? And must he follow you even to the gallows, and there beseech you to accept of him, and will you refuse him? Shall he be crucified hard by your gallows, as it were, and will you regard him not? O, poor Moses, believe on the Lord Jesus Christ with all your heart, and thou shalt be saved eternally. Come just as you are, with all your sins and abominations, with all your blood-guiltiness, with all your condemnation, and lay hold of the hope set before you this day. This is the last day of salvation with your soul; you will be beyond



the bounds of mercy in a few minutes more. O, what a joyful day will it be, if you now openly believe in, and receive the Lord Jesus Christ; it would be the beginning of heavenly days with your poor soul; instead of a melancholy day, it would be a wedding day to your soul: it would cause the very angels in heaven to rejoice, and the saints on earth to be glad; it would cause the angels come down from the realms above, and wait hovering about your gallows, ready to convey your soul to the heavenly mansions, there to take the possession of eternal glory and happiness, and join the heavenly choirs in singing the song of Moses and the Lamb; there to sit down for ever with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of God's glory; and your shame and guilt shall be for ever banished from the place, and all sorrow and fear for ever fly away, and tears be wiped from your face; and there shall you for ever admire the astonishing, and amazing, and infinite mercy of God in Christ Jesus, in pardoning such a monstrous sinner as you have been; there you will claim the highest note of praise, for the riches of free grace in Christ Jesus. But if you will not accept of a Saviour proposed to your acceptance in this last day of your life, you must this very day bid farewell to God the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to heaven, and all the saints and angels that are there; and you must bid all the saints in this lower world an eternal farewell, and even the whole world. And so I must leave you in the hands of God."\*

About 1788 Mr. Occom removed with the Indians under his care from the neighbourhood of New London in Connecticut, to the Oneida country, where they were presented with a considerable tract of land by the Oneida Indians. Here they erected a town which was called Brothertown; but after some time Mr. Occom died, and his people were left without a minister. The Indians at this place divided their lands, so that each individual held his property as an estate in fee simple, with this restriction, that it should never be sold to the White people. By this regulation they acquired a decided superiority over the Oneidas and others of the neighbouring tribes. The state of morals among them, however, is very low.†

\* A Sermon at the execution of Moses Paul, an Indian: By Samson Occom, p. 16.

† American Correspondence, MS. vol. i. p. 144. Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. iv. p. 68; vol. v. p. 13, 26. Morse's Report, App. p. 114.



In 1812, the Brothertown tribe consisted of 302 persons. They possessed a tract of land consisting of 9390 acres, divided into lots of from fifty to a hundred acres each, of which about two thousand were improved. The produce of their land that season amounted to about 2870 bushels of wheat, 5690 bushels of Indian corn, 700 bushels of rye, 1860 bushels of oats, 90 bushels of pease, 3450 bushels of potatoes, and about 290 tons of hay: but about one half of this produce was raised on shares by White people. The stock of this tribe consisted of 90 cows, 30 horses, 16 yoke of oxen, 93 young cattle, 88 sheep, and a great number of swine. They possessed 16 framed houses, and 18 framed barns, one grist mill belonging to the tribe, and two saw-mills belonging to individuals. Their implements of husbandry consisted of 21 ploughs, 17 sleds, 3 carts, and 3 waggons. Their mechanics were 4 carpenters, 2 blacksmiths, 4 shoemakers, 2 tailors, and 5 weavers. Their manufactures amounted that year to about 320 yards of woollen cloth, and 600 yards of linen. They possessed 5 looms, and were generally supplied with wool and flax spinning-wheels, axes, hoes, scythes, &c. It is a melancholy fact, however, that within the short distance of seven or eight miles, there were no fewer than nine stills, which consumed annually about 30,000 bushels of grain, and produced about 90,000 gallons of spirits.\*

#### SECTION V.

##### THE REV. SAMUEL DAVIES.

In 1747, the Rev. Samuel Davies, who was afterwards President of New Jersey college, began to preach at Hanover and the neighbouring parts of Virginia. Besides labouring with great success among the White people, he was the happy instrument of bringing many of the negro slaves to the knowledge of the gospel. In 1755, he gives the following pleasing account of the appearances of religion among them. "The inhabitants of Virginia are computed to be about 300,000 men, the one half of whom are supposed to be negroes. The number of those who attend my ministry at particular times is uncertain, but generally about 300, who give a stated

\* Summary Account of the Measures pursued by the Friends of New York for the Civilization of the Indians, p. 13, 19.



attendance; and never have I been so struck with the appearance of an assembly, as when I have glanced my eye to that part of the meeting-house where they usually sit, *adorned*, for so it has appeared to me, with so many black countenances eagerly attentive to every word they hear, and frequently bathed in tears. About an hundred of them have been baptized, after a proper time for instruction, and having given credible evidence, not only of their acquaintance with the important doctrines of the Christian religion, but of a deep sense of them upon their minds, attested by a life of strict piety and holiness. As they are not sufficiently polished to dissemble with a good grace, they express the sentiments of their souls so much in the language of simple nature, and with such genuine indications of sincerity, that it is impossible to suspect their professions, especially when attended with a truly Christian life and exemplary conduct."

In a letter written about a year afterwards, Mr. Davies says, that two Sabbaths before, he had the pleasure of seeing forty of them around the table of the Lord, all of whom made a credible profession of Christianity, and several of them with unusual evidence of sincerity; and that he believed there were more than a thousand negroes, who attended upon his ministry at the different places where he alternately officiated.\*

Besides Mr. Davies, many other ministers in North America have been useful among the negroes and people of colour, of whom it is calculated there are about a million and a half in the United States. Great numbers of them have been admitted members of the churches of various denominations in that country. There are even some churches which consist entirely of negroes and people of colour. Some individuals of them have been appointed to the office of the Christian ministry, and measures have of late been adopted for raising from among them a body of Christian teachers, not only for the benefit of the black population of the United States of America, but with the view of ultimately carrying the gospel to their countrymen in Africa.

About 1816, a seminary, called Augustine Hall, was instituted at Philadelphia for the education of African youths for the ministry. A similar institution was soon afterwards established in the states of New York and

\* Gillies' Hist. Coll. vol. ii. p. 334. Appendix to Hist. Coll. p. 29, 40, 42.



New Jersey. A third institution was formed with the same view at Boston, in New England.\*

## SECTION VI.

### THE NEW YORK MISSIONARY SOCIETY. †

#### TUSCARORA VILLAGE.

IN 1800, the New York Missionary Society sent the Rev. E. Holmes on an exploratory mission to some of the north-western tribes of Indians.

Having arrived among the Tuscaroras, near the falls of Niagara, he met with a very friendly reception from them. Before he left them, several of their Sachems and warriors addressed a letter to the New York Missionary Society, in which they implored their assistance and compassion in the following affecting strains: "Fathers and brothers, we should be very glad to have our father Holmes to live among us, or any other good man that you would send, to teach us the meaning of the beloved speech in the good book called the Bible; for we are in darkness; we are very ignorant; we are poor. Now, fathers and brothers, you have much light; you are wise and rich. Only two of our nation can read in the good book the Bible: we wish our children to learn to read, that they may be civilized and happy when we are gone, that they may understand the good speech better than we can. We feel much sorrow for our children. We ask you, fathers and brothers, will you not pity us and our poor children, and send a schoolmaster to teach our children to read and write? If you will, we will rejoice, we will love him, we will do all we can to make him happy."

After noticing the opposition which some of the Indians had shewn to such benevolent attempts of the White people, and the abandonment of the scheme in consequence of this, they add, "We are sorry Indians have done so; we are afraid some of us shall do so too; and that the Great Spirit will be angry with us; and you being discouraged, will stop and say, 'Let them alone; there is nothing to be done with Indians.'

"Fathers and brothers, hearken. We cry to you from

\* New York Christ. Herald, vol. ii. p. 57, 79, 102; vol. iv. p. 270. Miss. Reg. vol. vi. p. 425.

† Instituted November, 1796.



the wilderness; our hearts ache, while we speak to your ears. If such wicked things should be done by any of us, we pray you not to be discouraged: don't stop. Think, poor Indians must die, as well as White men. We pray you, therefore, never to give over, and leave poor Indians; but follow them in dark times; and let our children always find you to be their fathers and friends when we are dead and no more."

On taking leave of the Tuscarora Indians, Mr. Holmes proceeded on his journey, and visited the Senecas, who resided at Buffalo Creek. From them, however, he did not meet with a reception equally favourable. After he had, at their request, preached a sermon to them, the chiefs held a consultation, on the subject of the mission; upon which Red Jacket, the second Sachem, a cunning artful man, rose and delivered a speech, in which, among other things, he said, "Father, we thank the Great Good Spirit above, for what you have spoken to us at this time, and hope he will always incline your heart, and strengthen you to this good work. We have clearly understood you, and this is all truth that you have said to us."

"Father, we Indians are astonished at you Whites, that when Jesus Christ was among you, and went about doing good, speaking the good word, healing the sick, and casting out evil spirits, that you White people did not pay attention to him, and believe in him; and that you put him to death, when you had the good book in your possession."

"Father, we Indians were not near to this transaction, nor could we be guilty of it."

"Father, you do not come like those that have come with a bundle under their arms, or something in their hands; but we have always found something of deceit under it, for they are always aiming at our lands. But you have not come like one of these; you have come like a father and a true friend, to advise us for our good. We expect that the bright chain of friendship shall always exist between us; we will do every thing in our power to keep that chain bright, from time to time."

"Father, you and your good Society well know, that when learning was first introduced among Indians, they became small; and two or three nations have become extinct; and we know not what is become of them. It was also introduced among our eldest brothers the Mohawks,



and we immediately observed that their seats began to be small; this was likewise the case with our brothers the Oneidas. Let us look back to the situation of our nephews the Mohegans; they were totally rooted out from their seats. This is the reason why we think learning would be of no service to us.

“Father, we are astonished that the White people, who have the good book called the Bible among them, that tells them the mind and will of the Great Spirit, and they can read it, and understand it, that they are so bad, and do so many wicked things, and that they are no better.

“Father, if learning should be introduced among us, at present, more intrigue or craft might creep in among us. It might be the means of our suffering the same misfortunes as our brothers. Our seat is now but small; and if we were to leave this place, we should not know where to find another. We do not think we should be able to find a seat amongst our western brothers.”\*

In August, 1801, Mr. Holmes returned to settle among the Seneca and Tuscarora Indians, near the Falls of Niagara. Among the Senecas he met with many difficulties and much opposition; among the Tuscaroras he not only experienced a very favourable reception, but he had the satisfaction to see his labours attended with considerable success. Many of them renounced the use of ardent spirits, and other evil habits: a number of them appeared to be the subjects of divine grace; some in particular appeared to be deeply affected with religion. Much difficulty, however, was experienced from their loose notions on the subject of marriage. Though the efforts of Mr. Holmes to introduce among them a purer system of morals were not without effect, yet promiscuous concubinage, the parties uniting and separating at pleasure, still prevailed among them to a great extent.†

In 1817, the Rev. Mr. Crane was sent to labour among the Tuscaroras, who had been for sometime without a missionary. Much ignorance still prevailed among them on the subject of religion, yet his prospects of success were on the whole highly encouraging. A school on the

\* Report of the New York Missionary Society for 1801, annexed to Abeel's Sermon, p. 46.

† Rep. New York Miss. Soc. 1803, in Relig. Mon. vol. i. p. 228. Ibid. 1804, annexed to Livingstone's Sermon, p. 80. Ibid. 1805, p. 4. Ibid. 1807, in New York Christian Magazine, vol. i. p. 249. Evan. Mag. vol. xvii. p. 478; vol. xviii. p. 568.



Lancasterian plan was established among them, which was usually attended by between forty and seventy scholars.\*

In the spring of 1820, the pagan part of the nation after an artful and desperate, but unsuccessful attempt to root out Christianity from among them, removed into Canada. The Tuscaroras who remained, amounted to about 280. This separation freed the Christian Indians from many temptations and difficulties. The tribe may now indeed be considered as nominally a Christian tribe. The village, in fact, wore more the appearance of a Christian village than most of the settlements of the White people. The Sabbath was generally regarded, and public worship was attended with regularity and devotion. Civilization was making progress. The chase was in a great measure abandoned, and the people possessed comfortable habitations, and employed themselves in agriculture.†

Besides establishing this mission among the Tuscaroras, the New York Society sent missionaries among the Chickasaw Indians on the western border of the state of Georgia, and among the Indians of Long Island; but both these missions were afterwards relinquished. A school was also established among the Seneca Indians on Buffalo Creek; and lately a missionary was sent among them. Paganism appears to have received among the Senecas a mortal blow: the most intelligent chiefs were on the side of Christianity. The Pagan party, indeed, is violent, but it is not likely to prevail.‡

In 1820, the New York Missionary Society entered into an agreement with the United Foreign Missionary Society, an institution which we shall soon have occasion to notice, by which it surrendered the missionary stations which it occupied, to the latter, and became an auxiliary to it. §

\* Rep. New York Miss. Soc. 1818, in New York Christ. Herald, vol. v. p. 97. A Sabbath among the Tuscarora Indians, p. 28, 49.

† Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 117.

‡ Rep. New York Miss. Soc. 1799, annexed to Livingstone and M'Knight's Sermons, p. 98. Ibid. 1800, in New York Missionary Magazine, vol. i. p. 161. Ibid. 1803, in Relig. Mon. vol. i. p. 230. Ibid. 1804, annexed to Livingstone's Sermon. Ibid. 1816, p. 4. Ibid. 1818, in New York Christ. Her. vol. v. p. 97. Ibid. 1819, in ibid. vol. vii. p. 25. Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 118.

§ New York Christian Herald, vol. vii. p. 663.



## SECTION VII.

## CONNECTICUT MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

## CHIPPEWAY COUNTRY.

IN August, 1800, the Connecticut Missionary Society sent Mr. David Bacon to visit the Indians on the Western borders of Lake Erie; but after acquiring some knowledge of the Chippeway language, he met with no encouragement to settle among them. "The gospel," they said, "though very good for White people, would never do for Indians."† This mission we apprehend was soon abandoned.

## SECTION VIII.

THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF THE PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH  
IN THE UNITED STATES.

## CHEROKEE COUNTRY.

IN 1804, the Rev. Gideon Blackburn who had for some years felt anxious to introduce Christianity and civilization among the Indians, established a school among the Cherokees, near the Highwassee River, for the education of their children; and it was not long before it became necessary to begin a second school in the lower district of the nation. The unwearied exertions of Mr. Blackburn were attended with uncommon success. The progress of the scholars in reading, writing, and arithmetic, exceeded the most sanguine expectations that were formed of them. After labouring several years among the Cherokees, Mr. Blackburn was compelled to resign his appointment as a missionary, on account of the state of his health, which had been materially impaired by his great exertions. A number of the Indians, however, were now able to teach schools themselves, and it was expected that some of them would engage in this important work.‡

## SECTION IX.

## THE WESTERN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.§

## SANDUSKY.

IN May, 1806, the Rev. Joseph Badger, who had been appointed by the Western Missionary Society to settle

\* Instituted, 1798.

† Connecticut Evangelical Magazine, vol. i. p. 13, 118; vol. ii. p. 35, 159, 198, 312, 341, 345.

‡ Panoplist, vol. iii. p. 39, 85, 417; vol. i. (N. S.) p. 138, 325. Evan. Mag. vol. xx. p. 437.

§ Instituted in 1802.



among the Wyondat Indians, in the neighbourhood of Lake Erie, arrived at Sandusky Lower town. He and two other ministers had previously visited them, and had met with considerable encouragement to establish a mission among them. He was now accompanied by three other persons as labourers, who were to instruct the Indians in agriculture, and one of them ultimately to act as a schoolmaster. On his arrival, the inhabitants of the Upper and Lower towns were assembled in council about some unhappy wretches who were accused of witchcraft. They had already condemned four women to death on this charge; but through his representations, the others were happily set at liberty.

In his plans for the improvement of the Indians, Mr. Badger experienced great opposition from the traders; but yet, on the whole, he met with considerable success. The Indians enlarged their fields; several of them learned to plough their own land, and entered with some spirit into the operations of husbandry. For more than three years (how much longer we do not know,) they kept their engagement not to make use of spirituous liquors. During the whole of that time, Mr. Badger did not see a single instance of intoxication among them, though the traders constantly kept spirits for sale in their neighbourhood. Many of them attended on the preaching of the gospel, and several of them appeared to be under serious impressions of religion. The school was not numerously attended; but the progress of the scholars was much greater than could have been anticipated. A few converts were made, who were put to death by the Catholic Indians, on account of their religion. This mission, however, was broken up in the first year of the unhappy war between England and the United States; and so far as we know, was not renewed after the restoration of peace.\*

In 1815, the Western Missionary Society, at the urgent request of Cornplanter, a celebrated Indian Sachem, established a school in the village of that chief on the banks of the Alleghany. As the inhabitants of that place were few, the scholars of course were not numerous; and what was rather singular for Indian children, their

\* Relig. Mon. vol. iv. p. 35, 75. Assembly's Missionary Magazine, vol. ii. p. 41. Panoplist, vol. i. (N. S.) p. 427; vol. iii. p. 136, 185, 228; vol. xi. p. 86. Evan. Mag. vol. xx. p. 437. Morse's Report on Indian Affairs, Append. p. 91.



progress was slow. In other respects, however, the school was attended with very beneficial effects. The Indians began to pay more attention to the arts of civilization; they cultivated the ground with more industry, and raised much larger crops of corn. The women also began to pay more attention to cleanliness and decency in their houses. The Sabbath, they observed with some degree of strictness, abstaining from labour, hunting, and amusements. Mr. Oldham, the schoolmaster, regularly met with them on that sacred day, for prayer and reading the scriptures, and also some useful sermon. At Cold Spring, a place about 14 miles distant, a school was established by the Quakers.\*

The Missionary Society of the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, has lately sent the Rev. Mr. Stuart with the view of forming a missionary establishment among the Chickasaw Indians, called Munroe, similar to that at Brainerd and Eliot.

## SECTION X.

### AMERICAN BOARD FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

#### CEYLON.

IN October, 1815, the Rev. Edward Warren, Benjamin C. Meigs, James Richards, and Daniel Poor, sailed from Newbury Port, and after a pleasant voyage of five months, they landed at Columbo. On their arrival, they met with a cordial reception from General Brownrigg, the governor of the island, and other distinguished individuals. Messrs. Warren and Poor were settled at Tillipally, and Messrs. Meigs and Richards, at Batticotta; two places in the province of Jaffnapatam, about seven or eight miles distant from each other. At each of these places there were a large church and a dwellinghouse, to which were attached three or four acres of land, with a variety of fruit trees. The churches and mansion houses were built by the Portuguese, in the 17th century. Of these and similar buildings and glebes, in six other parishes, the missionaries obtained a grant from the British government. Here they immediately commenced their labours, preaching to the natives, and establishing

\* New York Christ. Her. vol. ii. p. 279; vol. iv. p. 209. Latter Day Luminary, vol. i. p. 47. Report of the Board of Missions to the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in America, 1818, p. 21.



schools among them. The number of their hearers was considerable, sometimes amounting to two or three hundred, including children; many appeared to listen with serious attention; and some, it was hoped, were made partakers of divine grace.\*

Besides their other schools, the missionaries, impressed with the importance of withdrawing native youths from the pernicious influence of their heathen parents, and connexions, and of having them completely under their own care and direction, established boarding schools, in which they placed the most promising of the children, under their own immediate eye, with the view of giving them a more thoroughly Christian education; and in the hope of rearing in this way well qualified native teachers, to assist them in their labours. At first they found great difficulty in obtaining boys to be educated; but such was the change which took place in the opinion of the people, that, after some time, they could easily get as many as they were able to accommodate. It was, however, more difficult to obtain female children, and extremely embarrassing to take suitable care of them after they were obtained. Still, however, the importance of the object was such, that they were not to be discouraged by difficulties; and notwithstanding the prejudices of the natives against female education, they obtained a few, whom they instructed in various branches of industry, as well as in the ordinary branches of education.†

In 1822, this mission consisted of five branches, Tillipally, Batticotta, Oodooville, Panditeripo, and Manopy. The missionaries pursued their labours with great diligence, and with remarkable attention to order. Under their care there were 25 day schools, in which it was calculated there were upwards of 800 children; and four boarding schools, in which there were 90 children, who were wholly supported by them. Their little church contained seventeen native converts, three of whom were appointed preachers to their own countrymen, and others of them were young men of very promising talents and piety. ‡

\* Panoplist, vol. xi. p. 553. Boston Miss. Herald, vol. xvii. p. 55. New York Christ. Her. vol. ii. p. 71; vol. iv. p. 357. Rep. Board For. Miss. 1817, p. 12; Rep. 1818, p. 10.

† Rep. Board For. Miss. 1818, p. 11; Ibid. 1820, p. 28. New York Christ. Her. 1818, p. 559.

‡ Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 522; vol. xi. p. 62. Evan. Mag. vol. i. (N. S.) p. 175. Rep. Board For. Miss. 1820, p. 29.



## HEATHEN SCHOOL.

IN May, 1817, a school was opened at Cornwall, in Connecticut, for the education of Heathen youth who happened to visit the United States, with the view of qualifying them to act as missionaries, schoolmasters, interpreters, agriculturists, physicians, or surgeons, among their own countrymen. In this school, soon after its institution, there were pupils from the islands of the Pacific Ocean, from the shores of India, and from the wilds of America. From the Sandwich Islands there were seven, some of whom gave pleasing evidence of Christian piety, and manifested an ardent desire to carry the glad tidings of salvation to their perishing countrymen. One of them was a prince, the heir apparent to the dominion of at least two of the islands, and a youth of uncommon talents and activity.

Many advantages were anticipated from the education of youth from Heathen countries, should they prove qualified to return as missionaries to their own countrymen. They understand their language, and can speak it with a fluency and a propriety scarcely attainable by a foreigner. They are acquainted with their manners and customs, their prejudices and modes of thinking. They must feel peculiarly interested in the conversion of their countrymen, being united to them by the ties of blood and affection; having themselves experienced the galling yoke of paganism, as well as the gentle service of Christ. Besides, their constitution is adapted to the climates of which they are natives, which often injure the health, and speedily put a period to the labours and the life of foreigners. Native missionaries will not indeed render missionaries from Christian countries unnecessary. They in their turn possess many advantages which the others want; but by uniting both in a mission, we may hope to obtain the advantages peculiar to each.

In 1822, there were thirty-two pupils in this school, eighteen of whom had been admitted to church fellowship.\*

\* Rep. Board for Foreign Missions, 1817, p. 18, 23. New York Christ. Her. vol. iv. p. 225, 358. Miss. Reg. vol. vi. p. 41, 62. Latter Day Luminary, vol. i. p. 32. Evan. Mag. vol. xxx. p. 460.



## SECTION XI.

## AMERICAN BAPTIST BOARD FOR FOREIGN MISSIONS.

IN 1817, the Rev. James E. Welsh, and John M. Peck, proceeded to St. Louis, in the Missouri territory. They were destined to labour partly among the destitute settlers in that part of the country, and partly among the neighbouring Indians; but though they made various inquiries with respect to the Indians, they for the present directed their attention chiefly to the White people. They, however, opened a school for the negroes, which in a short time was attended by near 100 scholars, from five to forty years of age, who made great progress in learning, and some of them appeared to be under serious impressions of religion.\*

In 1817, the Rev. Humphrey Posey was appointed a missionary to the Cherokee Indians. In a short time he established several schools among them; and the progress of the scholars surpassed all expectation. He also preached not only to the White people, but through an interpreter, to as many Indians as he could assemble.†

Besides these, the Baptist Board sent other missionaries among the Indians in the neighbourhood of New Orleans; in the state of Indiana, and the Illinois territory; and at Upper Sandusky; but the labours of most of them were, for the present, directed chiefly to the White people.

An Indian school was established by the Board near the Great Crossings, in Kentucky, which was afterwards removed to Rogersville, in Missouri, where it was intended that the children should be instructed not only in the English language, and in the elementary parts of learning; but in the arts and economy of civilized life.

The General Committee of the Charlestown Association fund, which appears to be connected with this Board, also supported a missionary among the Catawbas Indians.‡

In January, 1822, Messrs. Collin Teage, and Lott Carey, both of them men of colour, sailed for Sierra

\* Reports of the Baptist Board for Foreign Missions, p. 175, 218. Latter Day Luminary, vol. i. p. 33, 174, 178, 244.

† Rep. Bapt. Board of For. Miss. p. 202, 223. Latter Day Luminary, vol. i. p. 45.

‡ Rep. Bapt. Board of For. Miss. p. 116, 176, 202, 223. Latter Day Luminary, vol. i. p. 36, 43, 45, 182, 308. New York Christ. Her. vol. v. p. 627; vol. vi. p. 350. Morse's Report, p. 30.



Leone, with the view of making known the gospel to their countrymen.\*

BESIDES these, there are some other Institutions in America, which have made exertions for Christianizing the Heathen. The Corporation of Harvard College, possesses funds for missionary purposes, and though it has not established any distinct missions, it has united with other Societies in aiding and supporting missionaries among the Indians. Of late years, it has taken upon itself the whole charge of the Indians at Marshpee, and Martha's Vineyard.

In November, 1787, was incorporated at Boston, the Society for propagating the gospel among the Indians, and others in North America. This Society did not establish any new missions; but like Harvard College, aided in supporting missions already established, particularly those among the Marshpee, Martha's Vineyard, Narraganset, and Stockbridge Indians. It also occasionally sent ministers to visit the Indians in different quarters.†

In May, 1820, was instituted at Philadelphia, "The Protestant Episcopal Missionary Society for Foreign and Domestic Missions." This society appointed Mr. Ephraim Bacon, a catechist at Sierra Leone, with a view to his organizing a permanent mission.‡

## SECTION XII.

### THE SWEDES.

TOWARDS the end of the 17th century, some attempts were made for the conversion of the Indians, by Swedish ministers who had settled in North America. In 1696, was printed at Stockholm, the Catechism of Luther, by command of Charles XI. in the Indian language, with a Swedish translation.§

Here we may also mention, that many of the Swedish prisoners, who, after the battle of Pultowa, were marched

\* Miss. Reg. vol. xi. p. 6.

† Morse's Sermon before the Society at Boston for Propagating the Gospel, p. 53. New York Christ. Herald, vol. ii. p. 190; vol. iv. p. 209; vol. v. p. 522; vol. viii. p. 17, 51, 77, 116.

‡ Miss. Reg. vol. viii. p. 403; vol. xi. p. 10.

§ Bock Missions Geschichte, p. 270.



into Siberia, having in the season of adversity been impressed with a sense of religion, some of them proceeded among the Ostiaks, the Tunguses, and others of the pagan inhabitants of that country. Among these, there was in particular a Lieutenant Colonel, who made himself much beloved by them. He preached the gospel to them, and as God in his providence appeared to have conducted him to this part of the world, he felt unwilling to leave it, when he and the other Swedes were set at liberty.\*

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### SECTION XIII.

#### THE DANES.

##### LAPLAND.

IN 1716, two missionaries, Kiel Stub and Jens Bloch, were sent to that part of Lapland called Finmark, under the auspices of his Majesty Frederick the IVth, king of Denmark, whose reign was distinguished by giving birth to the Danish missions both to India and Greenland. This undertaking continued to be supported by his successors, and other missionaries were sent from time to time to instruct the ignorant Laplanders in the principles of religion.

In the winter season, the missionaries travel among the mountains in sledges, drawn by rein-deer, from the habitation of one Laplander to that of another, sometimes spending a whole week with the same family. During his stay with them, he daily catechises them concerning the principles of religion; and on festival days, the whole of the inhabitants of that district assemble together, and then, besides catechising them, he delivers a sermon to them. On these occasions, he not unfrequently finds it necessary to perform divine worship under the canopy of heaven, upon the deep snows, and amidst a cold almost intolerable. In the summer season, the missionaries go in boats from one part of the sea coast to another, instructing the inhabitants in a similar manner. To assist them in these labours, there are schoolmasters who teach the young people the art of reading, and the first principles of religion.

The Laplanders, according to Leemius, who was a number of years a missionary among them, have not only

\* Bock Missions Geschichte, p. 277.



made great progress in Christian knowledge, but manifest the highest respect for the ordinances of religion; for though public worship on the Sabbath seldom occupies less than three hours, they will sit bareheaded in the hut amidst the severest cold, manifesting the greatest attention and devotion.

Among them you hear no oaths or imprecations, though these are so common in most other countries. The Sabbath-day they rarely profane. They are of a meek and very peaceful disposition, so that they very seldom fall into quarrels, or proceed to blows. In their manners they are exceedingly chaste, and theft is a crime little known among them.\*

But notwithstanding the favourable accounts of Leemius, we fear that Christianity has made but little progress in Finmark. This conclusion we are led to draw from many of those very circumstances which he mentions in the course of his work, to show the flourishing state of religion in that country.

Besides attempting to Christianize the inhabitants of Lapland, the Danish government appears to have employed missionaries in instructing the negro slaves, in its islands in the West Indies. †

#### SECTION XIV.

##### THE UNITED BRETHREN.

##### LAPLAND.

IN 1734, Andrew Grasman, Daniel Schneider, and John Nitschman, were sent on a mission to Lapland. After acquiring the Laponese language at Tornea, they travelled through the whole of Swedish Lapland. But as in that part of the country they found some provision made for the instruction of the people, they resolved to go to Russian Lapland.

In 1736, they returned to Stockholm; and in the following year, Grasman, Schneider, and Miksch, another of the Brethren, proceeded to Archangel. Here they

\* Leemii Commentatio de Lapponibus Finmarchiæ, p. 61, 507.

† Oldendorp Geschichte, tom. ii. p. 987. Crantz Hist. Green. vol. i. p. xvi.



met with some Samoiedes, who agreed to conduct them into their country. But on applying for a passport, they were suspected to be Swedish spies, and arrested; and after having been kept in separate places of confinement for five weeks, they were sent off to Petersburg. At first, the guard treated them with great harshness; but at length, on observing their Christian meekness and patience, they behaved to them with more mildness. Once when they were crossing a lake during a thaw, the ice broke under the sledge, not far from the shore. Two of the soldiers and two of the Brethren fell into the water; but the third Brother helped them all out. In consequence of this, the guard afterwards acknowledged and applauded the integrity of their prisoners, who saved their lives, instead of leaving them to be drowned, and recovering their own liberty by flight. On their arrival at Petersburg, they suffered a second imprisonment of five weeks, and were subjected to frequent examinations; but as their innocence was completely cleared, they were dismissed, and furnished with a passport to Lubec.\*

In 1741, Elias Ostergreen and Ulric Behr, two others of the Brethren, set out again for Lapland. Having spent the summer at Tornea, they proceeded, after Christmas, in company with a party of traders, to the first place where a fair was held, about 170 miles from that town. Here they found a small church built of wood, in which a minister preached, and administered the sacraments during the fair! Except at this time, it seems, the people never came to church the whole year round. The Brethren inquired whether any unbaptized or Heathen people were there, that they might speak to them; but they were assured that they were all good Christians. Of this, however, their conduct was no great proof; for before the fair was ended, there was not an individual but what was guilty of drunkenness. This the traders encourage, in order that, when the people are intoxicated, they may make the better bargains with them.

Apprehending that they could be of no use in this quarter, the Brethren resolved to cross the mountains, and go to Finmark; and, with this view, they engaged a Lapland guide. This man had a herd of 500 rein-deer, which he drove as far as the confines of the country; and, having left them there, he conducted the mission-

\* Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 188.



aries to a bay on the Icy Sea. Here they waited in vain for twelve weeks; but they at length procured a boat, with which they intended to proceed to Norwegian Lapland. On leaving the bay, they had the wide ocean to the right, and exceeding high rocks and mountains, covered with perpetual snows, to the left. Whenever the wind was high, they were obliged to run towards some rocky island, or to the neighbouring coast, for safety, and wait till it abated. They had sufficient covering to screen themselves from the cold, but when it rained, they were completely wet. As the sun, however, never set, they soon got dry again in clear weather, and suffered no material injury. At sea, they were not unfrequently in danger of being overset by whales. One morning, when they had a bay to cross, they discovered no less than ten of these monsters of the deep, and were obliged to return, after repeated attempts to pass it. After encountering a variety of dangers, they arrived at an island belonging to Norwegian Lapland, in  $71^{\circ}$  North latitude. From hence they proceeded to a place, where they found a church and a minister. The Norwegian Laplanders are, in this respect, better provided for than the Swedish, for they have public worship every Lord's day. In this quarter, the Brethren remained two years; but as they had no prospect of being useful to the people, they left it, and thus the mission to Lapland was finally abandoned.\*

#### GUINEA.

IN March 1737, Henry Hukuff, and Christian Protten, a mulatto from Guinea, sailed from Holland for that country. Hukuff died soon after his arrival; but Protten remained some years in his native land; and while he did little good to the souls of others, he suffered in his own spiritual interests. He at length returned in 1741; but he afterwards, of his own accord, made two other unsuccessful attempts to introduce the gospel into that quarter of Africa.

In 1768, Jacob Meder, and four others of the Brethren sailed for the coast of Guinea. Here the Copenhagen Guinea Company had agreed to assign them a tract of land on the Rio Volta, or in any other situation which should be deemed most convenient for a missionary settlement, with such other privileges as were necessary for

\* Period. Accounts, vol. ii. p. 203.



promoting the conversion of the negroes. Before, however, they were able to begin the intended settlement, Meder and two of his assistants died, and the two others laboured, at the same time, under dangerous disorders. As soon as these painful news reached Europe, several of the Brethren cheerfully offered to go and supply their places.

In 1769, John Erich Westmann, and four other assistants sailed for the coast of Guinea; and on their arrival they found two of the preceding company still in life. Soon after their arrival, the Danish governor introduced them to the king of Ackim, who was then on a visit to him, and explained to him the wish of the missionaries to settle in his country, rather than in the Danish fort. After consulting with his Kaboseers, the king replied, "I will receive these good people on my land. They may take up their residence wherever they please, only they must not erect any fort." Having fixed on a spot for a settlement, at a place called Ningo, they began to build a house; but scarcely had they commenced their operations, when they were attacked by the fever which is so common in this inhospitable country, and which cut them off one after another in rapid succession. By the end of 1770, not one of them was left alive. \*

#### CAROLINA.

IN 1738, Peter Boehler and George Schulius were sent to South Carolina, at the request of the associates of Dr. Bray, † for the purpose of instructing the negroes in that colony. In consequence, however, of the sinister views of those who ought to have assisted them, they were hindered from prosecuting the great object of their mission. Schulius died soon after his arrival; and Boehler, who was at the same time minister of the colony of the Breth-

\* Risler Erzählungen, tom. ii. p. 176. Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 225, 615. Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 176.

† Dr. Bray's Association was instituted for the purpose of providing for the establishment of parochial libraries, and for the instruction of the negroes in the British colonies. The fund for the conversion of the negroes, consisted chiefly of £900 which Mr. D'Alone, private secretary to William III. had bequeathed to Dr. Bray and his associates for that purpose. This Association is still in existence, and supports three schools in Nova Scotia, in which are educated a considerable number of negro children; two in Philadelphia; and one in New Providence, one of the Bahama Islands. Christian's Magazine, 1760, vol. i. p. 84. Christian Observer, vol. i. p. 51; vol. xvii. p. 555.



ren in Georgia, retired with them to Pennsylvania, in consequence of their being required to carry arms in the war with Spain.\*

Of late years, the Brethren in North Carolina have made some attempts for the conversion of the negroes in their neighbourhood, and have baptized several of them.†

#### CEYLON.

IN January 1739, David Nitschman, Jun. and Augustus C. F. Eller, a physician, embarked at the Texel for the island of Ceylon. For three successive nights, they had to sleep among a crowd of noisy turbulent people on the deck, as the captain took no notice of them, nor appointed them any place to put up their hammocks. On its being discovered that they were Herrnhutters, a nickname of the Brethren, the crew not only laughed at them, and loaded them with reproaches, but pushed them about, and thrust them into dark corners; spat in their faces, and threw dirt upon them; but as the missionaries bore all with patience, their persecutors became at length ashamed of their conduct. Eller, indeed, rendered himself so useful in a medical capacity, that the conduct of the crew to them was completely changed. On their arrival at Columbo, they found some of the clergy much prejudiced against them; but the governor, Mr. Imhof, appointed them a residence among the Cingalese. As, however, their labours appeared to make an impression on some of the European settlers, the jealousy of the clergy was roused; and as the Brethren were averse to live amidst contention and strife, they left the island, after a residence of less than 12 months.‡

#### GEORGIA.

IN 1774, Ludwig John William Muller, and John George Wagner were sent to Georgia, in consequence of a request which the Brethren had received from Mr. Knox, the English under-secretary of state, to send some of their number to instruct his negroes in that colony. On their arrival, Mr. Habersham, the president of the council, expressed a wish that the missionaries would also

\* Crantz's Hist. Breth. p. 226, 229.

† Period. Accounts, vol. iv. p. 199; vol. viii. p. 238.

‡ Period. Accounts, vol. vii. p. 247.



take his negroes under their care. But their labours were attended with little success.

After the commencement of the American war, the Brethren were often required to take up arms; but this they avoided for a long time. It was at length, however, resolved by the congress of the colony, that if they persisted in refusing, they should either pay a fine monthly, of £7 sterling, or leave the province. In consequence of this, one of the Brethren who had come to their assistance from Wachau, in North Carolina, retired again to that settlement: and though Wagner was still permitted to carry on his labours, yet at length, in 1779, when Savannah, the capital, was captured by the British, he returned to England, as there seemed little prospect of his doing any good, while the country was in so distracted a state. \*

#### SECTION XV.

#### THE METHODISTS.

#### GEORGIA.

IN October 1735, Mr. John Wesley, accompanied by his brother Charles, and his friends Mr. Ingham and Mr. Delamotte, left London for Georgia, with the view of Christianizing the Indians in that quarter of North America. When the proposal was first made to him, he peremptorily refused; and when many objections which he started were answered, he alleged the grief it would occasion his mother, who had but very lately been left a widow: "I," said he, "am the staff of her age; her chief support and comfort." He was then asked whether he would go, if his mother gave her consent to the measure. This he thought impossible; but he allowed the trial to be made; resolving that if she made no objections, he would consider it as the call of God. Her answer was worthy of a Christian parent, and well deserves the imitation of the relations of missionaries in similar circumstances: "Had I," said she, "twenty sons, I should rejoice they were all so employed, though I should never see them more." He now, therefore, agreed to the proposal; and issuing from the retirement of a college, prepared to embark for the new and untried scenes which were before him.

On arriving in Georgia, Mr. Wesley undertook the pastoral care of the colonists, until he should be able to

\* Fortsetzung Brud. Hist. tom. i. p. 248.



go among the Indians; and in the prosecution of his ministry among them, he spared neither labour nor pains. He exposed himself with the utmost indifference, and with perfect impunity to every change of season, and inclemency of weather: heat and cold, frost and snow, storms and tempests, made no impression on his iron body. In travelling through the woods, he often slept on the bare ground, covered with the night dews; and sometimes when he awoke in the morning, his hair and clothes were frozen to the earth. He would wade through swamps, and swim over rivers with his clothes on, and then proceed on his journey till they were dry. One instance of his presence of mind, is not unworthy of notice. In sailing to Fredrica, the pettiawaga, a kind of flat bottomed barge, in which he had taken his passage, cast anchor near Skidoway island, where the water at flood is twelve or fourteen feet deep. Mr. Wesley wrapped himself up from head to foot in a large cloak to keep off the sand-flies, and lay down on the quarter-deck to sleep. Between one and two o'clock in the morning, he awoke in the midst of the sea, with his mouth full of water; having rolled out of his cloak and fallen overboard. Many on finding themselves in such perilous circumstances, would have lost all presence of mind, and quickly found a watery grave; but such was Mr. Wesley's self-possession, that on awaking he swam round to a boat on the other side of the barge, and climbed up the rope without sustaining any injury, except the drenching of his clothes.

Mr. Wesley was anxious to proceed among the Indians, agreeably to his original design, but whenever he made the proposal, he was told he must not leave Savannah without a minister. There, indeed, he was at first highly respected; but many of the very people, who on his arrival received him as an angel of God, soon became his bitterest enemies. The animosity toward him became at length so general and so violent, that he was glad to escape from the colony in a private manner.

On his voyage to England, Mr. Wesley instituted a particular investigation of his Christian character; and as the result of the inquiry, he concluded that he was still a stranger to vital religion. "It is upwards of two years," says he, "since I left my native country, in order to teach the Indians in Georgia, the nature of Christianity; but what have I learned myself in the meantime? Why, what I least of all suspected, that I who went to America



to convert others was never converted myself. I am not mad though I thus speak; but speak the words of truth and soberness, if happily some of those who still dream, may awake and see that as I am, so are they."

"Are they read in philosophy? So was I. Are they skilled in ancient or modern tongues? So was I. Are they versed in the science of divinity? I too have studied it many years. Can they talk fluently about spiritual things? The very same can I do. Are they plenteous in alms? Behold I give all my goods to feed the poor.\* Do they give of their labour as well as of their substance? I have laboured more abundantly than they all. Are they willing to suffer for their brethren? I have thrown up my friends, reputation, ease, country. I have put my life in my hand, wandering into strange lands. I have given my body to be devoured by the deep, parched with heat, consumed by toil and weariness, or whatsoever God shall please to bring upon me. But does all this make me acceptable to God? Does all I ever did or can do, justify me in his sight? Does all this give me a claim to the holy, heavenly, divine character of a Christian? By no means. If the oracles of God are true; if we are still to abide by the law and the testimony, all these things though they are holy, just and good when ennobled by faith in Christ, yet without it, they are dung and dross."† Whether Mr. Wesley was at this period a partaker of divine grace, is a question which must be left with the great searcher of hearts, but certainly the conclusion which he drew concerning himself, is well calculated to awaken a holy jealousy in the breast of the Christian missionary, and of the candidate for that sacred employment, with respect to his own character and qualifications, his principles, motives and ends.

#### FOULAH COUNTRY.

IN February 1796, several mechanics of the Methodist Connexion, sailed from England for Sierra Leone, with

\* In the 7th Volume of Mr. Wesley's Sermons, there is an account of the charities of one of the first Methodists, which is supposed to be himself. "When," says the preacher, "he had £30 a year, he lived on £28, and gave away £2. Next year he received £60; he still lived on £28, and gave away £32. The third year he received £90, and gave away £62. The fourth year he received £120, and still continued to live on £28, and gave away £92." Hampson's Life of Wesley, vol. iii.

† Coke and Moore's Life of Wesley, p. 92.



the view of beginning a colony in the Foulah Country, in order to instruct the inhabitants in the useful arts of life, and to make known the gospel among them. Previous to their embarkation, nothing unsuitable to their missionary character appeared among them, but during the voyage they became extremely discontented, quarrelled among themselves, and two of them were continually calling each other ill names. On their arrival at Sierra Leone, they behaved in such a manner, as excited the derision and contempt of all who had an opportunity of observing them. Happily, however, their dissensions among themselves, prevented them from proceeding to the Foulah Country, where their unhallowed conduct and example, could have produced nothing but mischief. Some of the women declared they would proceed no farther, and reflected on their husbands for conducting them to a foreign land: the men after wavering for a season, joined them in their revolt. Thus the design of a colony was completely abandoned. The unworthy adventurers seized the earliest opportunity of returning to England to accuse each other of having defeated the undertaking, and to endure that shame which their misconduct so justly merited. \* It is only an act of justice to the Methodist body to add, that though the colonists belonged to that communion, they were not sent out by the Conference, but by a Committee in London, consisting of gentlemen of various denominations.

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## SECTION XVI.

### BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

#### SIERRA LEONE.

IN 1795, Messrs. Grigg and Rodway, sailed from England, for Sierra Leone, with the view of attempting a mission in that neighbourhood. On their arrival it was agreed that Mr. Grigg should settle at Porto Logo, a town about forty miles up the river, in the Timmany Country; but he acted with so much imprudence, and so embroiled himself in the disputes of the colony, that Mr. Macauley the governor, judged it necessary to insist on his leaving Freetown. He accordingly retired to America. It was intended that Mr. Rodway should settle on the island

\* Drew's Life of Dr. Coke, p. 566.



of Bananas, about thirty miles from Freetown; but the climate of Africa agreed so ill with his health, that he was obliged, after a residence of only eight months, to return to England. \*

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JAMAICA.

IN December 1813, Mr. John Rowe sailed from Bristol, for the island of Jamaica. About thirty years before George Liele † a free negro from America, began to preach in Kingston, and though he met with considerable opposition, he was attended by considerable numbers of the slaves, several hundreds of whom were baptized by him. Moses Baker, a man of colour, had more lately laboured among many of the slaves on this island, and had baptized a considerable number of them; but he was now old, and was anxious to obtain help from England. For several years past, indeed, he had been prevented by the persecuting laws of Jamaica from preaching, baptizing, administering the Lord's Supper, or maintaining any thing like church discipline. Every thing had in consequence of this fallen into disorder. In Kingston and the neighbourhood, it is said, there were several thousand negro Baptists, among whom there appeared to be a considerable number of pious people; but for want of one qualified to instruct them, many of them were extremely ignorant; they had fallen into various extravagancies, and split into parties, under the guidance of illiterate and unskilful preachers, some of whom made a prey of them.

As Jamaica appeared to present an extensive field of usefulness, several other missionaries were sent to this island. By these, some hundreds of the negroes were admitted to the communion of the church; but the insalubrity of the climate, occasioned the death or the removal of several of them. Among these, none was more to be lamented than Mrs. Coultart, the wife of one of the missionaries. This excellent woman felt a passion for mis-

* Bapt. Period. Accounts, vol. i. p. 96, 246, 254, 257.

† George Liele was originally connected with a negro Baptist Church at Savannah in Georgia. It is not unworthy of notice, that the Church at Savannah, gave birth to at least three other negro churches—this in Jamaica—a second in Nova Scotia, under David George, who, in 1792, removed with most of the members to Sierra Leone—and a third in New Providence, one of the Bahama Islands. A few years ago, this last was greatly increased in number. In the course of a few days, no fewer than 330 persons were baptized. Their pastor was a man of colour. Rippon's Baptist Register, vol. i. p. 334, 477. Bapt. Mag. vol. vii. p. 212.

sionary labours, to which we scarcely know of any parallel; her whole soul appeared to be absorbed in the work: "O to be employed," said she, in writing to her brother, who had the same object in view, "O to be employed for God, in converting the heathen! What an honour! Should you cross the seas to be the instrument of saving one soul, even at the hazard of your life, you will be more than repaid for your trouble. Can you hear the poor destitute heathen cry, 'Come tell us of salvation through Jesus Christ,' and yet be deaf to it. Cannot you follow the steps of your Redeemer? He left the abodes of glory for you; for you he suffered more than you possibly can, undergo what privations you may. He had no earthly friend; you have a sister, and though unworthy, her very soul pants to go with you. O should God take me, and make me useful amongst the children, I care not who despises the meanness of the instrument."

"Where," says she, in another letter, "where can a soul that is overwhelmed with gratitude to the Author of all its mercies, find words to express its feelings? Alas! words are inadequate: I can only love and praise our covenant God. He hath done all things well. But O distracting thought; I may be left in England! O no, never, I never can, neither do I think I shall. I think it has been given me to believe, that our God will take me. What! shall I remain in England, while you are labouring for God among the heathen? Heart-rending thought! O that if it were the will of God, these eyes that are now bathed in tears, may before that takes place, be closed in death! Has not our Lord cut through every earthly tie? And why, unless that I may obey his call? O my brother, my very soul is there, in the midst of the heathen! I have prayed, that if my desires were not of God's forming, they might be moderated; but that only increases them. What am I to think from this? O what have I felt when asking direction from God in this affair! Alas! I cannot speak of it. You can form no idea of the state of suspense my mind is in. Nothing outwardly seems to favour it; but still I seem to feel more assured I shall go every time I approach the throne of grace. St. Paul's words (2 Tim. iv. 6.) have been with me continually for more than a month. Yes, I feel ready to be offered up in any way."

On another occasion, she writes: "I now seem to live only in the hope of laying my all at the foot of the cross.

I trust I have already done it, and am only waiting the summons, to set my house in order, and bid my friends a long farewell. My mind is so much raised above the things of time, that often I am lost, and the soul is soaring away. I have reason to believe from what I have experienced in prayer, that our covenant God, designs to send unworthy me, on so great and glorious a work. I think should it be the case, this spared life will indeed be spent in praise. Sometimes I think that the heavenly consolations which are graciously vouchsafed to me at the present time, may be to prepare me for a refusal; but it cannot be so when they only tend to heighten the flame which already burns! O to be employed in the cause of God, and among the heathen too—what honour! I can indeed bear all sufferings, if my Lord be there. Yes, this life must be sacrificed to his cause. It must spend, and be spent for our dear Redeemer. Had I ten lives to give, I would not, I could not, I durst not withhold one. My soul has been purchased with that blood, which flowed from the wounds of a dying Saviour, and the blessed Spirit of our God is a witness, how ardently it longs to relinquish all earthly prospects of a temporal kind, and go forth to the poor dear heathen. Were it to be made useful only to one soul, or should a watery grave await me, I die happy! What is my life? What is it worth in comparison of one soul? Alas! my spirit is frequently there: I could fancy myself in the midst of the poor children; and O for a moment, what are my feelings? Surely if our God hath designed, I shall never go, he will in mercy cut the thread of life, and admit me into his kingdom. But if it might be possible, I would pray, spare me, O my God, and send me to the heathen! When I consider my own inability, a transitory gloom crosses my mind; but does not God employ unworthy instruments, to effect great purposes? I tremble when I think of the approaching meeting between the directors, and yourself; for O, should I be rejected—the thought of not being permitted to engage in that, of all causes the dearest to my soul, seems more than I could bear. How does my soul pant for the time to come, when I may enter on the great and glorious work; but where am I? It is possible, and probable, that I may be rejected. Well, if you meet with a refusal from the Directors, never write to let me know. A summons to burn at the stake, for the sake of

Christ, I could joyfully attend, but I do not think I could bear that."

"Let me again beg of you not to slacken your hands. You have put them to the plough, therefore, go on; now is the accepted time. Soon will your tongue be incapable of uttering the dear Saviour's name, and telling of his compassion, his love, and his sufferings for poor sinners."

After having the prospect of going among the heathen, she writes, "Our dear Redeemer hath given me to believe that prayer is answered, and that the unworthiest of his creatures is to be sent on the noblest of errands, and in the most glorious of causes, that ever mortal man was engaged in, even in becoming a missionary to the poor heathen. Language fails to speak my feelings. How does my soul anticipate the day, when I shall leave my native land, and enter upon the blessed work. It will not be long we shall have to labour in this blessed employ, and with what joy shall we then relinquish it, knowing that a better home awaits us. I often see it by faith, although detained within mud walls. Joyfully could I quit all for it, except the poor heathen. Yes, and if called, God would enable me to do that. To tell you how much my soul is with them, would be impossible. Every day increases prayer, and brings with it fresh assurances, and more earnest desires. I rejoice that the Lord reigneth, and makes me his care. Why did he ever look upon me? Bread, and water, with the food with which he designs to feed my soul, would be rich fare."

Ardent, however, as were the longings of this excellent woman, to spread the knowledge of the Redeemer among the heathen, her hopes were frustrated just as they seemed on the point of being gratified. Having been married to Mr. James Coultart, who was destined to Jamaica, she sailed with him for that island; but five months had not elapsed after her arrival, when by one of those dispensations of providence, which are inscrutable by mortals, a period was put to her valuable life. *

But notwithstanding this, and other severe trials, the mission to this island was successful, in no common degree. In the course of five years, great numbers of the negroes were added to the church; and though there was reason to fear that some took up the form of godliness with-

* Rippon's Baptist Register, vol. i. p. 334, 542. Evan. Mag. vol. xi. p. 369, 550; vol. xii. p. 469. Period. Accounts, vol. v. p. 289, 502, 678; vol. vi. p. 73, 236, 240, 338, 402, 417.

out the power of it, yet multitudes of them appeared to have experienced a change of heart. It was peculiarly pleasing to witness the warmth of Christian feeling, which prevailed among them. Mr. Coultart having one day asked a female negro, whether she felt any sin, now that her heart was changed, she answered, "It trouble me too (very) much; it tick to me as close, as de clothes to me back." To another woman, who was complaining of the discouragements she met with, he said: "Well, how do you think to get through them all to heaven? You say you are weak." "Yes, me weak for true, Massa—but me hang on him arm—Jesus can help—an, Massa, him promise." In prayer, one of the negroes used the following expressions, the last of which is remarkable for its beauty and simplicity: "Lord, save me poo black sinner! break up all de dibble's work in me heart, and save poo African from dat place, where no sun shine, where no tar twinkle." A negro observed concerning himself, that from the time he came from the Guinea Coast, "him no able to take word, if any one offend him, me take knife, me take tick, no satisfy till me drink him blood—now, me able to take twenty word;—den me tief, me drink, ebery bad ting me do. Somebody say, me must pray—me say no, what me pray for? rum best pray for me—give me something good for eat, dat better than pray." "What made you change your mind then?" "Massa me go to church on Sunday, and me hear massa parson say, Jesus Christ came, and *pill* him blood for *tinner*. Ah! someting say, You hear a dat? him *pill* him blood! Ah! so! den me the *tinner*, me de tief, me de drunkard! Him *pill* him blood for Guinea Niger! Oh, Oh! Jesus die for poor niger, before him know him."

A negro woman, in answer to a question which Mr. Coultart put to her, respecting the general deportment of a neighbourhood, shrewdly replied: "When me hear any body peak (meaning in the language of Christian profession) me say, Well, me see what you do; and me watch quite close, for it no hard ting to peak Christian, but it quite hard to maintain the Christian."

The following circumstance is truly affecting, and illustrates most strikingly, the attachment of the Christian negroes to their instructors. A fire having taken place on the mission premises at Spanish Town, one of the stations on this island, a young woman a slave, who had been lately baptized, exerted herself much in carrying water

from the river, and when nearly exhausted, inquired at some who stood by, "Where my minista"? A person having answered, "He is burnt in his bed:" the poor creature fell down, and immediately expired, without uttering another word. *

In March 1823, the church at Kingston, consisted of about 2700 members: a missionary was also stationed at Spanish town. †

HONDURAS.

In March 1822, Mr. James Bourne sailed from England for Honduras, in the bay of Mexico, where a missionary may have an opportunity of instructing not only the negroes in the settlement, but the Musquito Indians in the neighbourhood. ‡

SECTION XVII.

THE SOCIETY FOR THE CONVERSION OF THE NEGROES IN THE WEST INDIES.

In 1794, was incorporated by royal charter, the Society for the conversion, and religious instruction of the negroes in the British West India Islands. This institution was originally proposed by Dr. Porteous, the bishop of London, and its funds in the first instance, consisted chiefly of the rents of an estate purchased with money which had been left by the Honourable Mr. Boyle, for charitable, and other pious uses, particularly the advancement, or propagation of the Christian religion amongst infidels. It sent several clergymen of the Church of England, to the West Indies; but like other missionaries in that quarter of the globe, they had many difficulties to encounter, the chief of which was an invincible reluctance on the part of the planters to promote any plan, however, "quietly and prudently" conducted for the instruction of their slaves. § Though these gentlemen had often professed their readiness to have their negroes instructed by what they called duly authorized teachers; yet in some instan-

* Miss. Her. 1819, p. 74; Ibid. 1820, p. 31; Ibid. 1821, p. 38, 39; Ibid. 1822, p. 30.

† Miss. Her. 1823, p. 46.

‡ Rep. Bapt. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 23. Miss. Her. 1822, p. 25, 33.

§ Hodgson's Life of Bishop Porteous, p. 111. Account of the Society for the conversion of the negro slaves in the West Indies, p. 5.

ces, the missionaries of this society, notwithstanding they belonged to the Church of England, met with greater opposition, than even the Methodist missionaries, with all "their dark, and dangerous fanaticism." *

In 1823, this Society had two missionaries, and one schoolmaster in Antigua, one missionary in Nevis, one in St. Kitts, and four in Jamaica. The Legislative Assembly of this last island, allowed from one to two hundred pounds currency, for the support of clergymen, sent out by this Society. †

SECTION XVIII.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

BULLOM SHORE.

IN October 1797, Messrs. Alexander Russel, and George Cappe, sailed from England for Sierra Leone, as part of a conjunct mission, to the Foulah Country; the Edinburgh and Glasgow Missionary Societies, having each furnished two missionaries, making six in all. In consequence, however, of the unhappy circumstances, already mentioned, ‡ it was deemed advisable on their arrival at Sierra Leone, for the missionaries of the different Societies, to separate and establish distinct missions. Russel and Cappe accordingly proceeded to the Bullom shore; but they soon quarrelled and separated. They had not indeed been long in the country, when the former died at Freetown, and the latter returned to England heartily sick of a missionary life. §

CEYLON.

IN February 1804, the Rev. Mr. Vos, and Messrs. Erhardt and Palm, sailed from England, for the island of Ceylon. On their arrival, Mr. Vos was appointed by Governor North, minister of the Dutch church at Point de Galle, and Mr. Read, whom they had taken with them

* Watson's Defence of Meth. Miss. p. 98.

† Account of the Society for the conversion of the negroes, p. 11. Miss. Reg. vol. vii. p. 46.

‡ See page 501.

§ Evan. Mag. vol. v. p. 462. Sermons before the London Missionary Society, 1800, p. 11. Letters in the possession of the Scottish Missionary Society, MS.

from the Cape of Good Hope, was to assist him. Mr. Erhardt was settled at Matura, and Mr. Palm at Jaffnapatam, and they at the same time obtained an allowance from government on account of their labours. Mr. Vos was afterwards removed to Colombo, but after he had been some time in that city, he was ordered by government to quit the island through the instigation of the Dutch consistory, whom it is said he had offended by his faithfulness and zeal. The other missionaries, who still remained on the island, met with little or no success in their labours. Their congregations were extremely small, and even the schools which they established, were scarcely more numerously attended. It is proper, however, to remark, that we are not certain they ever acquired such a knowledge of the language of the natives, as to be able, to make a fair attempt for their conversion. Mr. Palm was, after some years, appointed minister of the Dutch church, at Colombo. The other two were employed in superintending some of the schools, established by the Ceylon government; but Mr. Erhardt, was afterwards appointed by the Madras government, minister of the Dutch church, at Cochin, on the coast of Malabar. *

BUENOS AYRES.

IN October 1806, Mr. David Creighton, sailed from England for Buenos Ayres, which had lately been captured by the British; but on his arrival in the Rio de la Plata, he found that it had been retaken by the Spaniards. He had an opportunity, however, of dispersing a considerable number of New Testaments, and religious Tracts, in the Spanish language, which were received by the inhabitants, with great avidity; but the abandonment of the country by the British, compelled him at length to return to England. †

BURMAH.

IN 1809, Messrs. Pritchett and Brain, sailed from England for Burmah, and at length they arrived at Rangoon. They had not, however, been much more than three

* Miss. Trans. vol. ii. p. 266; vol. iii. p. 228, 343. Evan. Mag. vol. xv. p. 570. Rep. Miss. Soc. 1806, p. 21; Ibid. 1808, p. 28; Ibid. 1810, p. 20; Ibid. 1814, p. 23; Ibid. 1815, p. 15; Ibid. 1818, p. 12.

† Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 8. Rep. Miss. Soc. 1808, p. 23.

months in the country, when Mr. Brain was seized with a dysentery, which, in a few days, put a period to his life. This circumstance, combined with the distracted state of the country, and the little prospect of usefulness, determined Mr. Pritchett to proceed to India, where he afterwards proved a useful missionary. *

TOBAGO.

IN February 1808, the Rev. Mr. Elliot sailed from England, for the island of Tobago. On his arrival, he obtained permission to preach to the slaves, on several estates. Many of them, at first, listened to the word with great eagerness, and some of them appeared to be reformed in their conduct. About 1813, Mr. Elliot removed to Demerara, as the mission in Tobago was extremely expensive, and his prospects of success, on the whole, far from encouraging. †

TRINIDAD.

IN August 1809, Mr. Adams who had lately been sent to Demerara, not having found immediate employment in that colony, proceeded to the island of Trinidad. Here he preached both to the White people, and to the Negroes; but after some years, he was recalled. This mission, however, has lately been renewed, partly at the expense of a gentleman in Glasgow. ‡

BERBICE.

IN July 1813, Mr. John Wray proceeded from Demerara, to undertake the religious instruction of the slaves, on several estates belonging to the English crown, in consequence of the request of the commissioners, who had the management of them. Many of the negroes under his care learned to read, and some of them appeared to receive the truth in the love of it; but after the restoration of peace, about one half of the crown slaves having been restored to the Dutch company to whom they previ-

* Evan. Mag. vol. xvii. p. 127; vol. xviii. p. 448; vol. xix. p. 152, 395. Miss. Trans. vol. iii. p. 369.

† Rep. Miss. Soc. 1808, p. 23, 28; Ibid. 1813, p. 19; Ibid. 1814, p. 31.

‡ Rep. Miss. Soc. 1810, p. 27; Ibid. 1814, p. 31; Ibid. 1818, p. 40; Ibid. 1820, p. 101; Ibid. 1822, p. 137.

ously belonged, he was entirely excluded from them, by the new managers. The poor creatures were forbidden to attend on his instructions, and threatened with a flogging if they did: even the bibles, hymn books, and other useful works which he had given them, were forcibly taken from them.

Being prohibited from all communication with the Negroes, on the Companys' plantations, Mr. Wray undertook the instruction of a body of slaves, about 300 in number, who still belonged to the British government, and who resided in the town of New Amsterdam. His preaching on the sabbath was also attended by a number of other slaves, and by many of the Whites and people of colour. In June 1821, the number whom he had baptized amounted to eighty-five, of whom forty-two were adults.*

AMBOYNA.

IN December 1813, the Rev. John C. Supper, G. Bruckner, and Joseph Kam, sailed from England for the island of Java. On their arrival, Mr. Supper was chosen assistant minister of the Dutch church in Batavia, but he died before he had much opportunity of labouring among the heathen. Mr. Bruckner was appointed to Samarang, a place about 200 miles distant, but having afterwards changed his views on the subject of baptism, he became connected with the Baptist Missionary Society. Mr. Kam was appointed to the Dutch church in Amboyna, and at the same time to acquire the Malay language with the view of preaching to the native Christians, Mahomedans and pagans. His congregation, when he preached in Malay, commonly amounted to between five and six hundred persons: so eager, indeed, were the people to attend, that when he was to preach in Malay, they would assemble two hours, before the service began. He did not, however, confine his labours to Amboyna, but visited many of the neighbouring islands. If we might estimate the usefulness of a man, by the number of persons whom he baptized, Mr. Kam would justly be considered, as one of the most successful missionaries in modern times; but we fear, that he in common with most other missionaries from the continent of Europe, enter-

* Rep. Miss. Soc. 1813, p. 20; Ibid. 1817, p. 35; Ibid. 1818, p. 39. Evan. Mag. vol. xxx. p. 82.

tains very lax views with respect to the qualifications of church members, and that to this, we are to ascribe the vast numbers whom he baptized.

In August 1817, Mr. Kam proceeded to visit Ternate, Celebes, Sangir, Togolando, and other islands in the Malayan Archipelago. On these islands, he met with a very friendly reception from the inhabitants, many of whom expressed the utmost readiness to receive instruction. On the island of Chiau-w, he says, he found the king a very pious man, and in compliance with his desire, he baptized a number of his slaves. He baptized in the several islands, 5000 children, and near 500 adults. Previous to this he had baptized at least 1200 heathens and Mahomedans, who through his instrumentality had made a profession of Christianity, so that the whole number of persons baptized by him was probably not under 7000. Three negerys, or villages, had lately abolished every vestige of idolatry, burning their idols, and the houses appropriated to the worship of the devil. In one of their negerys, they destroyed no fewer than 34 devil's houses. The inhabitants of another village took all their idols, and with a great shout cast them into the sea. In the island of Amboyna idolatry was entirely abolished. In some of the negerys the people had still retained their idols; but they at last cast them all away. *

With the view of providing a supply of suitable teachers for the schools in Amboyna and the neighbouring islands, Mr. Kam established a seminary for the education of promising young men for that office. He himself was appointed, by the Dutch government, one of the four superintendents of the Dutch schools in the Molucca Islands.

SELINGINSK.

IN May 1817, Mr. Edward Stallybrass sailed from England for St. Petersburg, where he was joined by the Rev. Cornelius Rahm from Gottenburg. After some stay in the Russian capital, they set off for Irkoutsk in Siberia, a distance of upwards of 4000 miles. Here they resided some time; but Mr. Stallybrass afterwards re-

* Evan. Mag. vol. xxii. p. 78; vol. xxiii. p. 57; vol. xxiv. p. 449; vol. xxv. p. 115, 286; vol. xxvi. p. 490. Rep. Miss. Soc. 1817, p. 9; Ibid. 1818, p. 9, 11. Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 416; Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 280, 283, 298. Scottish Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 83.

moved to Selinginsk, a town about 160 miles south-east of the Baikal lake, as that place afforded superior facilities for acquiring the Mongolian language. There he was afterwards joined by Messrs. Swan and Yuille, two other missionaries. In visiting the Buriats, they distributed the gospels and some tracts which had been translated into the Mongolian language, and which were received by the people with great avidity.

SAREPTA.

IN 1819, the Rev. Mr. Rahm, in consequence of the illness of his wife, removed from Irkoutsk to Sarepta, on the Wolga, with the view of commencing a mission among the Calmucks in that neighbourhood: but he has lately left this station, owing to the restrictions which the Russian government laid on the labours of missionaries among the Calmucks.*

JOANNA.

IN May 1821, Mr. William Elliot sailed from the Cape of Good Hope for Joanna, one of the Comoro Islands, which lie between the north end of Madagascar and the continent of Africa.†

SECTION XIX.

GLASGOW MISSIONARY SOCIETY.‡

TIMMANY COUNTRY.

IN March 1797, Messrs. Duncan Campbell and Robert Henderson, set off from Glasgow, with the view of proceeding to Sierra Leone. On their arrival, they began to learn the Timmany language; and they afterwards proceeded to Rokelle, in that country, where they opened a school for children.§ But though they at first promised well, both of them proved very unworthy characters.|| Campbell remained in the country, and engaged

* Quart. Chron. vol. ii. p. 24.

† Rep. Miss. Soc. 1822, p. 130. Quart. Chron. vol. i. p. 311. Evan. Mag. vol. xxvi. p. 320; vol. xxviii. p. 356.

‡ Instituted February 1796.

§ Miss. Mag. vol. ii. p. 185, 425; vol. iii. p. 138, 236.

|| Love's Call respecting a Mission from Glasgow to the Indies, p. 27.

in the slave trade: Henderson came back to Scotland, and turned infidel.

SHERBRO.

IN September 1797, Messrs. Peter Ferguson and Robert Graham, set off from Glasgow, with the view of proceeding to Sierra Leone, as part of a conjunct mission to the Foulah country, from the Glasgow, Edinburgh and London Missionary Societies. On their arrival at Freetown, in consequence of the circumstances already mentioned,* it was agreed that these two should proceed to the island of Bananas; but some disturbance having arisen in that quarter, they in a short time retired to the Sherbro. Here they met with a very cordial reception from a worthy old chief, named Adoo, who immediately built them a house; but as the situation was peculiarly unhealthy, being very low and swampy, they were soon attacked with fever, accompanied with a putrid affection of the bowels, which in a short time carried them both to the grave. †

CAFFRARIA.

IN the beginning of 1821, Messrs. W. R. Thomson, and John Bennie, left Glasgow, with the view of proceeding as missionaries to Caffraria. On their arrival in London, the British government agreed to be at the expense of supporting Mr. Thomson as a missionary among the Caffres; and on his arrival in South Africa, he and Mr. Bennie were associated with Mr. William Brownlee, who was also supported as a missionary among them by the British government. Their prospects were on the whole encouraging. They established a school for the instruction of the children, and there were several of the Caffres, who in a short time became candidates for baptism. They had been awakened under the ministry of Mr. Williams, a missionary of the London Society, who died some years before in this country. ‡

In April 1823, the Rev. John Ross set off from Glasgow for the Cape of Good Hope, with the view of joining the mission in Caffraria. ||

* See p. 501.

† Miss. Mag. vol. ii. p. 474; vol. iii. p. 138, 236, 424.

‡ Report of the Glasgow Missionary Society, 1821, p. 9; Ibid. 1822, p. 10, 29; Ibid. 1823, p. 12.

|| Rep. Glas. Miss. Soc. 1823, p. 22.

SECTION XX.

SCOTTISH MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

JAMAICA.

IN February 1800, the Rev. Joseph Bethune and Messrs. William Clark and Ebenezer Reid, sailed from Leith for Jamaica. Scarcely, however, had they arrived, when Messrs. Bethune and Clark, were attacked with fever, and died within a few days of each other. Mr. Reid who was now left alone, laboured for some years among the negroes and people of colour in Kingston and the neighbourhood; but his exertions having been materially impeded by the hostility of the legislature of Jamaica to Christian missions, he afterwards accepted the offer of a respectable situation as a teacher on the island.*

In 1823, the Scottish Missionary Society resolved to renew the mission to Jamaica, and have received the promise of essential assistance from at least one gentleman possessed of property on this island.

INDIA.

IN 1822, the Rev. Donald Mitchell, John Cooper, James Mitchell, and Alexander Crawford, left Edinburgh for Bombay, with the view of establishing a new mission in that interesting quarter of the world.

In September 1823, the Rev. John Stevenson sailed for Bombay, with the view of joining the missionaries at that presidency.

Besides undertaking these missions, the Scottish Society furnished three of the missionaries who sailed in the Duff, on her second voyage to the South Sea Islands, but who were captured with the others off Cape Frio, and returned to England. In 1800, it furnished two others, who sailed in the Royal Admiral, and settled in Otaheite.

SECTION XXI.

NETHERLAND MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

IN December 1797, was instituted at Rotterdam, the Netherland Missionary Society. For many years, it confined its exertions to furnishing missionaries for South

* Miss. Mag. vol. v. p. 91, 357, 360, 528. Brief account of the Edinburgh Missionary Society, 1819, p. 2.

Africa to the London Missionary Society, and in some instances it united in their support; but of late years it has undertaken exertions of its own, independent of that institution. It has still one missionary in South Africa, Mr. Marquard, who preaches to both colonists and slaves, at Clan William, a place about 250 miles north of Cape-town. *

In 1818, this Society sent several missionaries to the East, and since that time others have been added to their number. The following table will shew the stations which they occupied.

1819, Java.	1820, Macassar, in Celebes.
1819, Amboyna.	1821, Chinsurah, in Bengal.
1819, Ternate.	1821, Pulicat, near Madras.†
1820, Timor.	

SECTION XXII.

SOUTH AFRICAN MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

IN 1799, was instituted the South African Missionary Society, chiefly through the instrumentality of Dr. Vanderkemp and his fellow missionaries, on their arrival at the Cape of Good Hope.‡ It directed its attention chiefly to the religious instruction of the slaves in the colony. In 1822, it had two missionaries in its employ, Mr. J. H. Beck at Capetown, who had about 500 slaves under his instruction, and Mr. Joubert at Zoar, in the district of Zwellendam, where he had about 250 Hottentots under his care. ||

SECTION XXIII.

GENERAL BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

IN 1816, the General Baptist Missionary Society was instituted by some members of the General Baptist denomination.

In May 1821, the Rev. William Bampton and J. Peggs, the first missionaries of this Society, sailed for India, §

* Evan. Mag. vol. vi. p. 72. Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 34.

† Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 83, 90; vol. xi. p. 41.

‡ It is not unworthy of notice, that a letter from the Missionary Society in London, on this subject, was the first religious publication in that quarter of the globe; and though it consisted only of five pages, it was sold at two shillings sterling.

|| Miss. Trans. vol. i. Miss. Reg. vol. x. p. 28; vol. xi. p. 11.

§ Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 28; vol. ix. p. 405.

and on their arrival, they settled at Cuttack, in the province of Orissa.*

SECTION XXIV.

BASLE EVANGELICAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

IN 1820, the Evangelical Missionary Society, was instituted, in connexion with the Protestants of Switzerland, France, and Germany. The seat of the Society is at Basle, in Switzerland, where, a few years before, a seminary was established for the education of missionaries to the Heathen, chiefly with the design of supplying the Societies which were already established with suitable labourers; but the views of the supporters of that institution were now extended to establishing themselves missions among the Heathen.†

In 1821, Messrs. Dittrich and Zarembo proceeded to Petersburg, where they were afterwards joined by Messrs. Hohnaker, Benz Dieterich, and Boerlin and Curfess. It was intended that they should establish a mission beyond the Caucasus.

No. II.

ACCOUNT OF THE EXERTIONS OF SOME PERSONS DISTINGUISHED BY THEIR ZEAL FOR THE PROPAGATION OF CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE HEATHEN.

THE HONOURABLE ROBERT BOYLE.

THE Honourable Robert Boyle was not only a man of extensive learning, and one of the first philosophers of the age in which he lived; he was no less distinguished by his zeal and activity in promoting the interests of Christianity, both at home and abroad. Having been greatly instrumental in procuring the charter of the East India

* Miss. Reg. vol. v. p. 28; vol. ix. p. 405; vol. xi. p. 56.

† Miss. Reg. vol. viii. p. 467; vol. ix. p. 31; vol. x. p. 365; vol. xi. p. 25.

Company, and been for many years one of the directors, he made a proposal to them, that they should make some attempt for the propagation of Christianity in the East, and as soon as he found that they were favourable to the measure, he sent L.100 to assist in the commencement of the work, intending at the same time to promote it still further, when it should be actually begun. During the space of about thirty years, he was governor of the Corporation for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England; and in the course of his life he contributed L.300 to that object, and at his death he left a further sum for the same purpose. He not only expended L.700 on an edition of the Irish Bible, which he ordered to be distributed in Ireland, (besides contributing largely to the printing of the Welsh Bible, and of the Irish Bible for Scotland;) but he designed to have defrayed the expense of publishing the New Testament in the Turkish language. The Turkey company, however, thought it became them to be at the charge of that undertaking, and allowed him to be only a contributor to it. He was at the expense, however, of publishing the four Gospels and the Acts of the Apostles, in the Malay language, which were printed in the Roman character, at Oxford, in 1677, under the direction of the learned Dr. Hyde, professor of Oriental languages in that university, and were afterwards sent for distribution in the East. He likewise gave a noble reward to Dr. Edward Pococke, for translating into Arabic the celebrated work of Grotius *De Veritate Christianæ Religionis*; and was at the expense of the whole impression, which he was careful to have circulated in those countries where that language was understood. To crown the whole, he left, at his death, the sum of L.5400 for the propagation of Christianity among infidel and unenlightened nations. With this sum, an estate was purchased in Yorkshire; the annual rent of which, was paid to William and Mary college in Virginia, until the commencement of the American war. In 1793, the accumulated capital which now yielded near L.1000 a year, was appropriated "to the Society for the conversion and religious instruction of the negroes in the British West Indies," which was then incorporated by royal charter. *

* Birch's Life of Mr. Boyle, prefixed to his works, vol. i. p. 108, 139. Bishop Burnet's Sermons, p. 197. Hodgson's Life of Bishop Porteous, p. 111.

DR. BERKELEY, BISHOP OF CLOYNE.

IN 1725, Dr. Berkeley published "A Scheme for converting the Savage Americans to Christianity, by a college to be erected in the Summer Islands, otherwise called the Isles of Bermuda." With the view of accomplishing this object, he offered to resign his own preferment as Dean of Derry, which was worth L.1100 a year, and to dedicate the remainder of his life to the instruction of youth in America, with the moderate salary of L.100 per annum. In a letter of recommendation which the celebrated Dean Swift gave him to Lord Carteret, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, we have the following amusing account of him and his plan: "He is an absolute philosopher with regard to money, titles, and power; and for three years past has been struck with a notion of founding an university at Bermuda, by a charter from the crown. He hath seduced several of the hopefulest young clergymen and others here, many of them well provided for, and all of them in the fairest way for preferment: but in England, his conquests are greater, and I doubt will spread very far this winter. He shewed me a little tract which he designs to publish, and there you will see his whole scheme of a life academico-philosophical; of a college founded for Indian scholars and missionaries, where he most exorbitantly proposeth *a whole hundred pounds for himself, forty pounds for a fellow, and ten for a student.* His heart will break if his deanry be not taken from him, and left to your Excellency's disposal. I discourage him by the coldness of courts and ministers, who will interpret all this as impossible and a vision; but nothing will do. And therefore I do humbly entreat your Excellency, either to use such persuasions as will keep one of the first men in this kingdom for learning and virtue quiet at home, or assist him by your credit to compass his romantic design, which, however, is very noble and generous, and directly proper for a great person of your excellent education to encourage."

Having applied to government for assistance, Dr. Berkeley obtained from Sir Robert Walpole, by authority of the House of Commons, a promise of L.20,000 for the establishment of a college in Bermuda;* but notwith-

* It is stated, though on what authority we know not, that when the Queen, with whom Dr. Berkeley was a favourite, endeavoured to dissuade him from his design, and offered him her interest for an English

standing this grant, so many difficulties were thrown in the way by men in power, that though the whole soul of Dr. Berkeley was bent on the object, upwards of two years elapsed before it was possible for him to get the necessary arrangements made.

In September 1728, he at length sailed for America, accompanied by Mr. Smilert, an ingenious painter; Messrs. James and Dallon, two gentlemen of fortune; a pretty large sum of money of his own property, and a collection of books for a library. He directed his course to Rhode Island, which lay nearest to Bermuda, with the view of purchasing lands on the adjacent continent, for the support of his college, having a positive promise from the British ministry, that the Parliamentary grant would be paid as soon as the lands were agreed on.

But notwithstanding this promise, the money was never paid, being always delayed, sometimes under one pretence, sometimes under another. Bishop Gibson, on applying to Sir Robert Walpole, at length received from him the following disingenuous answer: "If you put this question to me as a minister, I must and can assure you, that the money shall most undoubtedly be paid as soon as suits with public convenience: but if you ask me as a friend, whether Dean Berkeley should continue in America expecting the payment of L.20,000, I advise him by all means to return to Europe, and to give up his expectations." The Dean having received information of this conversation from the Bishop, and being fully convinced that the base policy of one man had rendered abortive a scheme on which he had expended much of his private fortune, and more than seven years of his life, returned to Europe in 1731. Before leaving Rhode Island, he divided his books between the clergy of that province, and Yale College. He also assigned ninety-six acres of land, to that institution; and immediately after his arrival in London, he returned all the private subscriptions that had been advanced for the support of his undertaking. Such was the unfavourable termination of Dr. Berkeley's scheme for the erection of a college in the Bermuda Islands, and the conversion of the American Indians; a scheme which reflects more honour on his

bishopric, he nobly replied, that "he would prefer the headship of St. Paul's college at Bermuda to the primacy of all England;" though, as we have already mentioned, his salary from that office was only to be L.100 a year. *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Art. BERKELEY.

memory, than all his philosophical labours can ever confer. *

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REV. DR. WHEELOCK.

IN 1754, the Rev. Eleazer Wheelock, of Lebanon in Connecticut, established a charity school for the education of Indian children, and of some English youths, with the view of preparing them for labouring as missionaries, interpreters, or schoolmasters, among the different tribes of Indians. In 1765, there were three missionaries, eight schoolmasters, and two interpreters occasionally hired to assist them, employed in labouring among the Indian tribes, together with twenty-two youths in the school at Lebanon, all of whom were dependant on him for support. †

In 1766, the Rev. Mr. Whitaker, and the Rev. Samson Occum, an Indian preacher, and the first pupil who was educated at the school, were sent over to Great Britain, in order to obtain subscriptions for the support of this important institution. Upon their arrival in England, the plan met with the most liberal patronage from Christians of every denomination, and of all ranks of society. His Majesty came forward with a subscription of L.200; the whole contributions in England amounted to near L.10,000, and in Scotland to upwards of L.2,500.

In 1770, Dr. Wheelock removed with the school from Lebanon to Hanover in New Hampshire. The governor of that province annexed to it a charter of incorporation for an university, under the name of Dartmouth College,

\* Berkeley's Works, vol. i. p. 11, 42. Holmes' American Annals, vol. ii. p. 114.

† Brief Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 1767, p. 3, 22.

In June 1763, the Rev. Charles J. Smith was ordained at Lebanon, with the view of proceeding as a missionary among the Indians. He was a young man of some fortune, which he devoted to the support of himself, and of his companion in labour, Joseph Brandt, a young chief of the Mohawk tribe, who afterwards rose to the rank of colonel in the British service. Mr. Smith was the first missionary sent out by Dr. Wheelock; but after travelling upwards of 200 miles to the Indians, he was obliged to leave them, in consequence of war breaking out between the English and the savages.

Mr. Kirkland, of whose labours we have already given an account, was one of the missionaries referred to in the above statement. The other two were the Rev. Theophilus Chamberlain and the Rev. Titus Smith, who, with the eight Indian schoolmasters, were employed among the Oneida, the Mohawk, and the Onondago tribes. Wheelock and Whitaker's Sermons at the Ordination of the Rev. Charles J. Smith, p. 43. Brief Narrative of the Indian School, p. 29.



in honour of its great friend and benefactor in England, the earl of Dartmouth. The college was endowed with a landed estate, amounting to 44,000 acres; and a board of trustees was constituted, with powers of perpetual succession.\*

During the American war Dr. Wheelock experienced great difficulties in carrying on his plans, in consequence, particularly, of the want of pecuniary support. As a proof of his disinterestedness, it is not unworthy of notice, that for performing the several duties of president of the college and of the Indian school, professor of divinity, and pastor of the church in the college, he received no other compensation than a supply of provisions for his family; and having advanced between three and four thousand dollars of his own private property, for the use of the institution at the period of its chief difficulties, he by his last will bequeathed to it this sum, reserving only an annuity of 160 dollars to his eldest son, who was an invalid. He also left to the school some other legacies. The trials and disappointments which he had experienced in the prosecution of his favourite plan, contributed to hasten his dissolution. The last words he was heard to utter, was that solemn and emphatic charge: "Oh! my family, be faithful unto death." †

The whole number of Indian children educated in the school from 1767 to 1785, was 156, exclusive of those educated in the wilderness; and the whole number of English youths was 147. Though a considerable number of Indians were admitted into it after the removal of the school to New Hampshire, yet only two of them completed their education. ‡

The whole of the money contributed in England, was gradually remitted for the use of the institution. But of the sum collected in Scotland, a considerable part is still in the hands of the Society for propagating Christian Knowledge, which had undertaken the management of it. Doubts, indeed, began to be entertained, that the money was not applied to the original purposes of the institution; and, on inquiry, it was found, that though the buildings

\* Continuation of the Narrative of the Indian Charity School, 1769, p. 83, 85, 128. Account of Soc. in Scot. for Prop. Christ. Know. 1774, p. 16.

† M'Clure and Parish's Memoirs of the Rev. Dr. Wheelock, in Christian Observer, vol. xiii. p. 21.

‡ American Correspondence in the possession of the Society in Scotland for Propagating Christian Knowledge, MS. vol. i. p. 291, 302.



in the college appropriated for the Indian school were still kept up, and the American funds destined for its support, applied to no other purpose; yet, since 1785, no youths of any description, whether Indian or English, had been educated in it. The reason assigned for this by Dr. John Wheelock, who had succeeded his father in the presidency of the college, was the want of the usual remittances from Britain; and, on the other hand, the Society thought it proper to refuse his demands for money, until the attempt was renewed. They even remitted the matter to the consideration of their law committee, and directed them to report how far they were at liberty to alienate the money collected for this charity, and to apply it for the support of missionaries among the American Indians, or other infidel nations. The law committee, however, gave it as their unanimous opinion, "that the Society was not at liberty to bestow this money on any other object than that for which it was collected; but that no part of it should be transmitted to Dartmouth college, without satisfactory evidence being first obtained, that the original purpose of the institution was fulfilled." By this means, the money collected for the Indian charity school lay, for some years, unappropriated to any purpose whatever, except that L. 50 a year was paid out of it, to Mr. Kirkland the missionary, who was educated at this seminary. In May 1795, it amounted to L. 2,324, 16s. 2d., including the stock and savings. \*

About the end of the eighteenth century, the school was again opened, and for several years, there generally were three or four Indian youths in it, most of whom were very promising, and made rapid progress in learning, and besides these, there were a number of English youths, who, we suppose were educated on funds raised in America. The school, however, has been again suspended. It is certainly much to be regretted, that so considerable a sum, should from technical difficulties be locked up from being applied to the general object for which it was contributed, the propagation of Christianity among the Heathen. †

Before we close this account, it may not be improper

\* Account of the Funds, Expenditure, &c. of the Soc. for Prop. Christ. Know. p. 17, 60. American Correspondence, MS. vol. i. p. 183, 291, 294, 369.

† American Correspondence, MS. vol. ii. p. 3, 47, 55, 65, 79, 88, &c. Morse's Report, p. 398.



to remark, that it was found, that, in general, the Indian youth, however well they promised while at school, turned out extremely ill, on returning to their own countrymen. \* The following picture, drawn by Doctors Morse and Belknap, is, perhaps highly coloured, but yet we fear there is too much truth in the general lineaments: "An Indian youth," say they, "has been taken from his friends, and conducted to a new people, whose modes of thinking and living, whose pleasures and pursuits, are totally dissimilar to those of his own nation. His new friends profess to love him, and to have a desire for his improvement in human and divine knowledge, and a concern for his everlasting salvation; but, at the same time, they endeavour to make him sensible of his inferiority to themselves. To treat him as an equal would mortify their own pride, and degrade them in the view of their neighbours. He is put to school; but his fellow-students look upon him as a being of an inferior species. He acquires some knowledge, and is taught some ornamental, and, perhaps, useful accomplishments; but the degrading memorials of his inferiority, which are continually before his eyes, remind him of the manners and habits of his own country, where he was once free, and equal to his associates. He sighs to return to his friends; but among them he meets with the most bitter mortification. He is neither a White man, nor an Indian. As he had no character with us, so he has none with them. If he has strength of mind, sufficient to renounce all his acquirements, and to resume the savage life and manners, he may possibly be again received by his countrymen; but the greater probability is, that he will take refuge from their contempt in the inebriating draught; and when this becomes habitual, he will be safe from no vice, and secure from no crime. His downward progress will be rapid, and his death premature. Such has been the fate of several Indians who have had the opportunity of enjoying an English or a French education, and have returned to their native country. Such persons must either entirely renounce their acquired habits, and resume their savage manners; or if they remain among their countrymen, they will live despised, and die unlamented." †

\* American Correspondence, MS. vol. i. p. 291.

† Mass. Hist. Coll. vol. v. p. 30.



## THE REV. HENRY MARTYN.

IN September 1805, the Rev. Henry Martyn, a young man of distinguished talents and piety, sailed for India, as one of the chaplains of the East India Company. He had, for a considerable time past, resolved to devote himself to the service of Christ, as a missionary among the Heathen, and though it was deemed advisable by his friends that he should accept of this appointment, still it was with the view of directing much of his attention to the Hindoos. He possessed, indeed, in no common degree, the spirit of a missionary: his whole soul appeared to be absorbed in the conversion of the Heathen.\*

Previous to his departure from England, Mr. Martyn had begun the study of the Hindostanee language, and on his arrival in India, he applied to it with more ardour than ever. Having been appointed chaplain at Dinagapore, he not only laboured with great faithfulness among the military, who were the immediate objects of his charge, but erected several schools for the education of the native youth. He early translated into Hindostanee, those parts of the Book of Common Prayer, which are most frequently used, and commenced divine worship in that language. His congregation consisted chiefly of the native women connected with the military, many of whom were Roman Catholics, and others Mahommedans. Afterwards when he was removed to Cawnpore, he preached on the lawn before his house to a congregation of natives, consisting chiefly of mendicants, whom, to prevent perpetual interruptions, he appointed to assemble on a stated day. His congregation sometimes amounted to no fewer than 800 persons. But the great work which Mr. Martyn undertook, was the translation of the New Testament into the Hindostanee, the Arabic, and the Persic languages, in which he was assisted by learned natives.† The

\* Memoirs of the Rev. Henry Martyn, p. 30, 117.

† His assistant in the Persic and Arabic translations was the well known Nathaniel Sabat. Of the conversion of this young man to Christianity, a very interesting account is given by Dr. Buchanan. (Buchanan's Star in the East, 12mo. edit. p. 28.) He was educated, it is said, under the most learned man in Bagdad, and his attainments as a scholar were very considerable. (Rep. Bib. Soc. 1811, App. p. 24.) Though Mr. Martyn found him of a proud, passionate, jealous temper, and witnessed in him many painful aberrations from that line of conduct which religion prescribes, yet when he beheld the tears he shed in prayer, and listened to the confessions he made of his sinfulness, and to his declarations of his readiness to correct whatever was reprehensible in his behaviour, he



Hindustanee version was highly approved of; but the Persic, though two successive versions were made, on being examined at Calcutta, was deemed not sufficiently level to common readers. Mr. Martyn, therefore, resolved to go into Arabia and Persia, for the purpose of collecting the opinions of learned natives, with respect to the Persic

could not in charity doubt of the sincerity of his Christian profession, even while he daily suffered much from him. "If the Spirit of Christ," said Sabat, "is given to believers, why am I thus after three years' believing. I determine every day to keep Christ crucified in sight; but I forget to think of him. I can rejoice when I think of God's love in Christ; but then I am like a sheep who feeds happily whilst he looks only at the pasturage before him, but when he looks behind and sees the lion, he cannot eat." His life he avowed was of no value to him; the experience he had of the instability of the world had weaned him from it; his heart was like a looking-glass, fit for nothing but to be given to the glass-maker to be moulded anew." (Martyn's Memoirs, p. 281, 295, 295, 306.) Previous, however, to Mr. Martyn's leaving India, the character of Sabat had completely developed itself, and he deceived no person who had an opportunity of knowing him. He, at length, quarrelled with the Rev. Mr. Thomason of Calcutta, who had undertaken the superintendence of the Arabic version, and was dismissed from his employment as a translator. Apprehending that this excellent man would be more grieved by an attempt to undermine the gospel, than by an attack upon himself, Sabat in the violence of his rage avowed his apostasy from Christianity, and wrote a work in defence of Mahomedanism. But, having, according to his own account, gratified his passion, in writing this "bad work," in an evil hour, he never afterwards enjoyed one moment's peace of mind, and the only cheering prospects he had in life, was that of possessing sufficient leisure to publish an exposition of the flimsy sophistry which he had employed in defence of Mahomedanism. Asiatic Journal, vol. ii. p. 12, 285; vol. iii. p. 72.

In January 1816, Mr. Mylne missionary in Malacca, met with the apostate in Prince of Wales' Island. He seemed deeply affected with the sin and folly of his conduct: "I am unhappy," said he, "I have a mountain of burning sand upon my head. When I go about I know not what I am doing." Of Mr. Martyn he spoke with perfect rapture. "Were every hair in my head a tongue," said he, "I could not fully tell the worth of that man." Having proceeded soon after to Acheen with the Ex-Rajah he fell into the hands of the usurper; and on being brought before him was asked: "What is thy religion?" "My parents," replied the prisoner, "were Mahomedans." "But what is thy religion," rejoined the prince, "God knows," answered the unhappy man. "Thy parents," said the usurper, "were Mahomedans, but thou art a Christian and must be put to death." It was accordingly reported, that after being imprisoned for some months, he and another Arab who was taken captive with him were tied up in a sack filled with stones and thrown into the sea. (Miss. Trans. vol. iv. p. 369. Evan. Mag. vol. xxvi. p. 178.) Such was the miserable end of the unhappy Sabat. Notwithstanding his apostasy from Christianity, we would hesitate to ascribe to him the guilt of a systematic and well concerted hypocrisy; it seems more natural to conclude, that his judgment was at the time convinced of the truth of the gospel revelation, and his heart in some measure impressed with its sacred mysteries.



version which had been rejected, as well as the Arabic, which was not yet completed.\*

In October 1810, Mr. Martyn left Cawnpore, and proceeded to Calcutta, from whence he sailed to Persia. On his arrival at Bushire, he assumed the Persian dress, and adopted the Persian manners. "The Persian dress," says he, "consists of stockings and shoes in one, next a pair of large blue trowsers, or else a pair of huge red boots; then the shirt, then the tunic, and above it the coat, both of chintz, and a great coat. I have here described my own dress, most of which I have on at this moment. On the head is worn an enormous cone, made of the skin of the black Tartar sheep, with the wool on. If to this description of my dress I add, that my beard and mustachios have been suffered to vegetate undisturbed ever since I left India, that I am sitting on a Persian carpet, in a room, without tables or chairs, that I bury my hand in the pilaw without waiting for spoon or plate, you will give me credit for being already an accomplished Oriental." Being thus equipped he set out for Shiraz, with a cafila, consisting chiefly of mules with a few horses. It was a fine moonlight night, the scene new and perfectly Oriental; but though the journey was at first agreeable, it soon became extremely irksome. "At sunrise," says he, "we came to our ground at Ahmedee, six parasangs, and pitched our tent under a tree: it was the only shelter we could get. At first the heat was not greater than we had felt in India, but it soon became so great, as to be quite alarming. When the thermometer was above  $112^{\circ}$ , I began to lose my strength fast; at last it became quite intolerable. I wrapped myself up in a blanket, and all the warm covering I could get to defend myself from the external air, by which means the moisture was kept a little longer upon the body, and not so speedily evaporated as when the skin was exposed. But the thermometer still rising, and the moisture of the body quite exhausted, I grew restless, and thought I should have lost my senses. The thermometer at last stood at  $126^{\circ}$ : in this state I composed myself, and concluded that though I might hold out a day or two, death was inevitable. Capt. \*\*\* who sat it out, continued to tell the hour and height of the thermometer: with what pleasure did we hear of its sinking to  $120^{\circ}$ ,  $118^{\circ}$ , &c. At last the

\* Martyn's Memoirs, p. 100, 188, 192, 221, 230, 242, 244, 316, 325, 328, 333. Miss. Reg. vol. i. p. 263.



fierce sun retired, and I crept out more dead than alive. It was then a difficulty how I could proceed on my journey; for besides the immediate effects of the heat, I had no opportunity of making up for the last night's want of sleep, and had eaten nothing. However, while they were lading the mules, I got an hour's sleep, and set out, the muleteer leading my horse. The cool air of the night restored me wonderfully, so that I arrived at our next munzel with no other derangement than that occasioned by want of sleep. Expecting another such day as the former, we began to make preparations the instant we arrived at the ground. I got a tattie made of the branches of the date tree, and a Persian peasant to water it: by this means the thermometer did not rise higher than  $114^{\circ}$ . But what completely secured me from the heat, was a large wet towel which I wrapped round my head and body, muffling up the lower part in clothes. How could I but be grateful to a gracious Providence, for giving me so simple a defence against what I am persuaded, would have destroyed my life that day."

"The next morning we arrived at the foot of the mountains, at a place where we seemed to have discovered one of nature's ulcers. A strong suffocating smell of naphtha, announced something more than ordinarily foul in the neighbourhood. We saw a river: what flowed in it, it seemed difficult to say, whether it were water or green oil: it scarcely moved, and the stones which it laved, it left of a grayish colour, as if its foul touch had given them the leprosy. Our place of encampment this day was a grove of date trees, where the atmosphere at sunrise, was ten times hotter than the ambient air. I threw myself down on the burning ground and slept: when the tent came up, I awoke as usual, in a burning fever. All this day I had recourse to the wet towel, which kept me alive, but would allow of no sleep. At night we began for the first time to ascend the mountains. The road often passed so close to the edge of the tremendous precipice, that one false step of the horse would have plunged his rider into inevitable destruction. In such circumstances, I felt it useless to attempt guiding the animal, and therefore gave him the rein. These poor animals are so used to journies of this sort, that they generally step sure. There was nothing to mark the road, but the rocks being a little more worn in one place than in another. The sublime scenery would have impressed me much in



other circumstances; but my sleepiness and fatigue rendered me insensible to every thing around me. The next night we ascended another range of mountains, and passed over a plain where the cold was so piercing, that with all the clothes we could muster we were shivering. At the end of this plain, we entered a dark valley, contained by two ranges of hills, converging to one another. The muleteer gave notice he saw robbers. It proved to be a false alarm; but the place was fitted to be a retreat for robbers: there were on each side caves and fastnesses, from which they might have killed at their leisure, every man of us. After ascending another mountain, we descended by a very long and circuitous route into an extensive valley, where we were exposed to the sun till eight o'clock. Whether from the sun, or continued want of sleep, I could not on my arrival at Cargeroon, compose myself to sleep: there seemed to be a fire within my head, my skin like a cinder, and the pulse violent. Through the day it was again too hot to sleep, though the place we occupied was a sort of summer house, in a garden of cypress trees, exceedingly well fitted up with mats and coloured glass. Had the *cafila* gone on that night, I could not have accompanied it; but it halted here a day, by which means I got a sort of night's rest, though I awoke twenty times to dip my burning hands in water." After a journey of about ten days, Mr. Martyn, at length, reached Shiraz, the celebrated seat of Persian literature.\*

Having, on his arrival at that city, ascertained the general correctness of the opinion expressed at Calcutta, respecting the Persic translation, Mr. Martyn immediately commenced a new version in that language, with the assistance of Mirza Seid Ali Khan, a learned Persian. He also translated the Psalms into the same language. His version of the New Testament was afterwards presented to the king of Persia, by Sir Gore Ouseley, the British ambassador, and the Shah expressed high approbation of it. This translation, and also the Hindostanee and Arabic, were afterwards printed and extensively circulated. Painful, as it is to us to express the slightest doubt as to the value of the labours of a man we so ardently admire, yet we cannot but feel surprise at the rapidity with which Mr. Martyn's versions were all executed. His Persian translation at Shiraz was finished in little more than eight months, and his Hindostanee ver-

\* Martyn's Memoirs, p. 336, 341, 555.



sion appears in like manner to have been completed within a very short period.\* Mr. Martyn was no doubt a man of distinguished talents; but no talents can supersede the necessity of thorough and repeated revisions of a new translation of the sacred writings, and that too at distant periods. The apprehensions we have expressed, which with us was originally mere conjecture, has been confirmed, so far as the Persic version is concerned, by the subsequent examinations of that work.

During his residence in Persia, Mr. Martyn had frequent conversations, and even public disputations on the subject of religion with learned Persians. A considerable spirit of inquiry was by this means excited in Shiraz. The preceptor of all the Mollahs, published a Defence of Mahommedanism in Arabic, which appears to have been written with as much temper and moderation, as was consistent with an apology for so glaring an imposture. To this Mr. Martyn wrote a reply in Persic, and even his opponent had the candour to praise his answer.†

Previous to leaving Cawnpore, Mr. Martyn had thoughts of returning to England, on account of the state of his health. After accomplishing the great object of his visit to Persia, he reverted to his original intention. He was confirmed in his design by a fever of near two months' continuance, which he suffered at Tebriz whither he had gone to visit Sir Gore Ouseley. With that ardour of mind which was characteristic of him, he set off from that place for Constantinople, a distance of 1300 miles, only ten days after recovering from his late severe illness. After a most fatiguing journey, in the course of which he suffered much from the unfeeling conduct of his Tartar guide, and from an attack of intermittent fever, he arrived at Tocat in Asia Minor. Here he was obliged by illness to stop, and after a few days he breathed his last, October 16th, 1812, in the thirty-second year of his age, either falling a sacrifice to the plague which then raged in the town, or sinking under the fever which he had previously contracted. Thus died the truly admirable Henry Martyn, a man in whom there was a rare combination of splendid talents, of elevated piety, of ardent zeal, of deep humility, of inflexible faithfulness, and of entire devotedness to the cause of his divine Master.

\* Martyn's Memoirs, p. 270, 290, 295, 313, 321, 333, 364, 411, 462, 464. Rep. Bib. Soc. 1815, p. 130.

† Martyn's Memoirs, p. 365, 367, 370, 380, 386, 398, 434, 450.



## No. III.

NOTICES OF PROPOSALS FOR THE CONVERSION  
OF THE HEATHEN.

THOUGH the propagation of Christianity among the Heathen, was long neglected by the churches of the Reformation in general; yet there were individuals, who, at different periods, turned their attention to this great and important object. Some notices of this kind may not be uninteresting to the reader.

1. In 1578, Frobisher sailed from England, with a fleet of 15 ships, and a number of settlers, who were to remain, at least, one year, in *Meta Incognita*, i. e. Greenland. On board one of the ships, was a minister who was not only to act as chaplain to the fleet, but to endeavour to convert to Christianity, the natives of that country. "This Maister Wolfall," says Frobisher, "being well seated and settled at home, in his own country, with a good and large living, having a good honest woman to wife, and very towardly children, being of good reputation among the best, refused not to take in hand, this painful voyage for the only care he had to save souls, and to reform those infidels, if it were possible, to Christianity; and also partly for the great desire he had that this notable voyage, so well begun might be brought to perfection, and therefore he was content to stay there the whole year, if occasion had served, being in every necessary action as forward as the resolute man of all. Wherefore in this respect, he may rightly be called a true pastor and minister of God's word, which for the profit of his flock, spared not to venture his own life." No settlement, however, was effected, and of course, "Maister Wolfall," returned with the fleet. \*

2. It appears that Cromwell, who, as is well known, exerted himself with much energy and success for the protection of the Protestants abroad, formed the design of organizing an institution for the support and extension of the Reformed religion in foreign countries, and that had he assumed the royal authority, he intended to have made its establishment, one of the first acts of his admin-

\* Hakluyt's Voyages, vol. iii. p. 104, 116.



istration. "He resolved," says Bishop Burnet, "to set up a council for the Protestant religion, in opposition to the Congregation *de Propaganda fide* at Rome. He intended it should consist of seven counsellors, and four secretaries, for different provinces. These were the first, France, Switzerland, and the Valleys. The Palatinate, and the other Calvinists, were the second: Germany, the North, and Turkey, were the third: and the East and West Indies, were the fourth. The secretaries were to have £500 salary apiece, and to keep a correspondence every where; to know the state of religion all over the world, that so all good things might by their means be protected and assisted. They were to have a fund of £10,000 a year at their disposal, for ordinary emergencies," a large sum at that period, "but to be further supplied as occasion should require it. Chelsea College was to be made up for them, which was then an old decayed building, that had been at first raised to be a college for writers of controversy." \*

3. Mr. John Oxenbridge, who was ejected from Berwick upon Tweed by the Bartholomew act, in 1662, proceeded to Surinam in South America, and from thence in 1667, to the island of Barbadoes. In 1669, he went to Boston in New England, and published a small work recommending the settlement of colonies in that part of South America, with the view of extending Christianity among the natives. It was entitled, "A Proposition of propagating the gospel by Christian colonies in the continent of Guiana, being some gleanings of a larger discourse," the MS. of which was preserved in New England. †

4. Mr. Joseph Alleine, the author of that well known work, "An Alarm to the Unconverted," after he was ejected from his charge by the Bartholomew act, and when he was no longer allowed to preach in England, resolved to go to China, or some other part of the world, there to plant the Christian faith. ‡

5. In 1664, Justinian Ernest, Baron of Wultz, made some proposals for the establishment of a society among his brethren of the Lutheran church, for the propagation of Christianity among the Heathen. To this object he

\* Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i. p. 123.

† Mather's Hist. New Eng. Book iii. p. 221. Palmer's Nonconformist's Memorial, vol. i. p. 299.

‡ Alleine's Works, p. 22.



himself devoted the sum of 12,000 rixdollars, and he erected seminaries for teaching such languages as might be useful in promoting their conversion. His plans, however, were misrepresented, and he himself was ridiculed as an enthusiast. Meeting with little encouragement in Germany, he proceeded in 1666, to Holland; but there he experienced still greater opposition. Upon this he entered into the ministry, sailed to the West Indies, preached the gospel to the Heathen, and at last died among the savages. \*

6. In 1700, Frederick I. the king of Prussia, founded the Royal Academy of Sciences at Berlin. In 1710, a new set of regulations were framed for it, and it was divided into four classes, the last of which embraced Oriental learning, particularly, as it related to the propagation of the gospel among infidels. †

7. With a view to the propagation of Christianity among the Heathen, Dr. Doddridge attempted to form a small society in his own congregation, the plan of which was truly excellent; and he strongly advised his brethren in the ministry to establish similar institutions in their congregations. He lamented that there were so few missionaries among the Indians in North America; and he was anxious to train up some young men of piety and zeal for this work. Two of his pupils were educated with this view; but their relations interfered and would not allow them to proceed. "Such," says the doctor in his diary, "is the weakness of their faith and love! I hope I can truly say, that if God would put it into the heart of my only son to go under this character, I could willingly part with him, though I were never to see him more. What are views of a family and a name, when compared with a regard to extending my Redeemer's kingdom, and gaining souls to Christ." As the propagation of Christianity in the world, was the object which of all others lay nearest Dr. Doddridge's heart in life, so he felt his ruling passion even in death. "I am now intent," says he in a letter written after the commencement of his last illness, "upon having something done among the Dissenters in a more public manner for propagating the gospel abroad. I wish to live to see this design brought into execution,

\* Bock Missions, Geschichte, p. 91.

† Edinburgh Encyclopædia, vol. i. p. 77.



at least into some forwardness, and then I should die the more cheerfully." \*

8. In November 1785, the Rev. David Brown, sailed from England for Calcutta, with the view of taking the charge of a Military Orphan Asylum, which had been established in that city. Soon after his arrival, he commenced the study of the Bengalee language, with the view of translating the Holy Scriptures; and some years afterwards he began to learn the Sungskrit. He opened a native school for young Hindoos, and purchased some land which he intended them to labour, that it might be partly supported by their own industry. He also formed a plan for a mission to India, and drew up a memoir on the subject, entitled: "A Proposal for establishing a Protestant Mission in Bengal and Bahar." This memoir was presented both to the East India Company, and to the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, but nothing was done in consequence of it. †

Here we must stop in our notices, as since the revival of the Missionary spirit throughout the Christian world, examples of zeal for the propagation of Christianity among the Heathen, have become so common, that they may be ranked among the ordinary occurrences of the day, and of course it is unnecessary particularly to mention them.

\* Orton's Memoirs of Dr. Doddridge, p. 126, 127. Doddridge's Works, vol. iii. p. 232.

† Memorial Sketches of the Rev. David Brown, p. 142, 177, 217, 239, 248, 256, 288.

FINIS.















